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OCTOBER, 1934

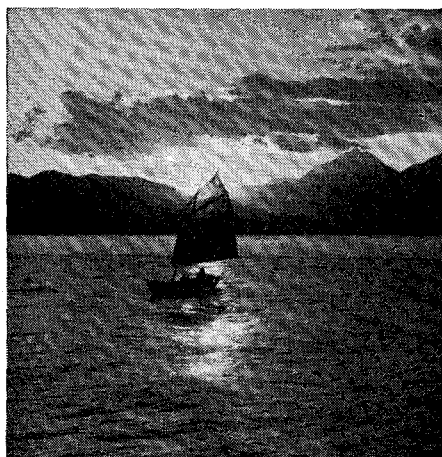
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New OUTLOOK, October, 1934
Volume 164. Number 4.



CORRESPONDENCE



Uncle Sam, Peddler, etc.

Sir:

Congratulations on the splendid article
in your August issue about the Tennessee
Valley affair. When millions of dollars are
being spent on social experiments with
implications as deep as this one has, it is
certainly time for the public who is going
to have to foot the bill to look into it more
closely.

I would like to see more articles stripping
this phase of extra governmental activity
down to its factual skeleton.

Let me take this chance to express my
complete accord with your entire editorial
policy. You can continue to count on my
support and that of a dozen or so asso-
ciates who agree with me that your maga-
zine is one of the few fearless champions
of honest and open discussion and criticism.
As long as we have the NEW OUTLOOK we
need not worry about curtailment of a
free press.

Very truly yours,
J. B. WILSON, Manager,
The Hubinger Co.,
Keokuk, Iowa.

Honesty and Fear

Sir:

I am enclosing stamps for which please
send me an edition of the OUTLOOK issued
some months ago featuring an article de-
scribing the promises made by President
Roosevelt compared with the methods used
in fulfillment of them.

I am a business man who is full of fear,
and President Roosevelt has assured me
that if I am honest, I need not fear. I
wish to obtain all the facts possible which
will throw light on Roosevelt's conception
of honesty. I naturally would look for this
information in his promises and acts.

Thank you for your attention to this
matter.

Yours truly,
F. S. WILCOX,
Excelsior Mills,
Union, S. C.

Our correspondent refers to "A
Story Time Has Told," by Edward
Angly, which appeared in the April
issue of NEW OUTLOOK.—Ed.

Old vs. New

Sir:

Please discontinue my subscription to
your magazine. After having been a sub-
scriber for several years, during which
time the "old" OUTLOOK was the most
valued publication coming into my home,
I regret that it no longer appeals to me.

You are so prejudiced against all policies
of the present administration that you are
entirely incapable of giving fair and im-
partial opinion. The writer is not a "hide
bound" advocate of present policies, but
does realize the value of trying to see all
sides of any problem or controversy.

Frankly, the NEW OUTLOOK is a narrow
Outlook. It seeks to please those who have
already made up their minds on certain
vital questions. It can be of value neither
to this class nor to those who wish to know
the truth.

Yours truly,
JOHN E. RICE,
Lodie, Ohio.

Gold Road

Sir:

Permit me to congratulate you on the
article, "The Gold Road to Recovery," by
Ambrose W. Benkert, in the current num-
ber of the NEW OUTLOOK.

It is the clearest solution that I have
seen of our economic situation, and I look
forward with the keenest interest to fur-
ther articles from this most brilliant pen.

Sincerely,
R. S. DE MITKIEWICZ,
Clark, Childs & Keech,
11 Broadway, New York.

We Will

Sir:

As a Republican who holds many views
of the Old Line Democrat, but cannot trust
the party, I wish to say that I read the
OUTLOOK under Lyman Abbott, and under
Theodore Roosevelt. It has never been the
magazine it is today. If you can weather
the present hysteria, it will rank at the top
of magazines moulding and reflecting pub-
lic opinion.

Sincerely,
O. L. SMYTHE,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Past Two Years Compel...

Sir:

I have enjoyed the NEW OUTLOOK
very much but circumstances with us the
past two years compel us to give up much,
and until conditions change for the better,
will have to forego the pleasure of having
the NEW OUTLOOK continue coming to us.
When again in position to subscribe, shall
surely do so and we can only hope it may
be in the not too distant future.

Yours truly,
C. FRED VOLLMER,
Bucyrus, Ohio.

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Entered as second class matter October 7, 1932, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under act of March 3, 1879.

Dry State Dweller

Sir:

I am an interested reader of your publication but for some reason the news agencies in my city have quit handling it—hence I wish to subscribe to it.

You certainly are enlightening those of us who wish to be in on that "gigantic farce" that is being put on us from the White House.

Yours truly,
DR. R. B. REGAN,
Mobile, Ala.

No Inside Dope Wanted

Sir:

NEW OUTLOOK is pessimistic and inclined to too much "inside dope" to suit me. Cy Caldwell is very good as a rule—but otherwise there is nothing much that attracts me to your magazine. Al Smith did once, but then he went sour and worried about the trend of affairs.

My real reason for writing is to cause you not to solicit me further: save postage.

Sincerely,
ALICE W. JONES,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

When It Runs Out

Sirs:

I had been a subscriber to the old weekly OUTLOOK for nearly 20 years and when it collapsed I had a year's subscription paid up. This was credited to me on the NEW OUTLOOK. But I do not care for the general style or the political complexion of the latter. It seems to be devoted to an irritably, petulant, nagging sort of criticism of the Administration. Please cancel my subscription when it runs out.

Very truly yours,
JOHN S. LANDRUM,
Stockton, Calif.

In Japan

Gentlemen:

I find that the NEW OUTLOOK is an invaluable aid in keeping tab with the outside world. Ninety-nine per cent of the Japanese cannot read English so the only knowledge of the outside comes to them through the daily newspapers. English is gradually coming to the fore because the people here find that it is necessary in the future.

Yours very truly,
LEIGH C. KARAKI,
Tokyo, Japan.

We Won't

Gentlemen:

I do not see how I am to keep ahead of the crowd by reading the NEW OUTLOOK. It should be called the *Old OUTLOOK*.

I would not accept a year's subscription if you made me a present of it.

Yours truly,
A. L. LOOP,
319 Ben Hur Building,
Crawfordsville, Ind.

The George Washington

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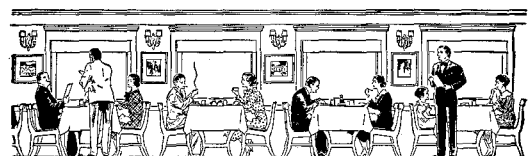
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Forward Lines

Sir:

I have been a little remiss, I fear, in writing you with what interest I read Matthew Valliant's article "Why the Grass Is Green" that appears in your July issue. It is refreshing to see the kind of an editorial approach you made in this article. We were not so much interested in forecasting exactly what industrial developments might take place in the next few years as we were anxious to get the best minds of the country thinking more along forward lines than they have recently. That is the approach you took and we here, including Mr. Sloan, were all delighted to read it.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL WILLARD GARRETT,
GENERAL MOTORS CORP.
New York, N. Y.

The President in History

Sir:

I have read the OUTLOOK since childhood and wish I might continue but the NRA prosperity (?) makes it necessary to discontinue my subscription. I hope to purchase the NEW OUTLOOK occasionally because no one can afford to miss such articles as "A Farewell to Eagles" and "The Underground Stream of the 30's" (June issue). It is with regret that I ask you to cancel my subscription.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt will go down in history as the President who took from us the liberty for which my New England ancestors fought. He is a necessary evil. Good must come out of it all because that is the divine order. However, no credit is due the President. He is the greatest bunco artist this country has ever known.

Very truly yours,

NELSON L. YOUNG,
San Jose, Calif.

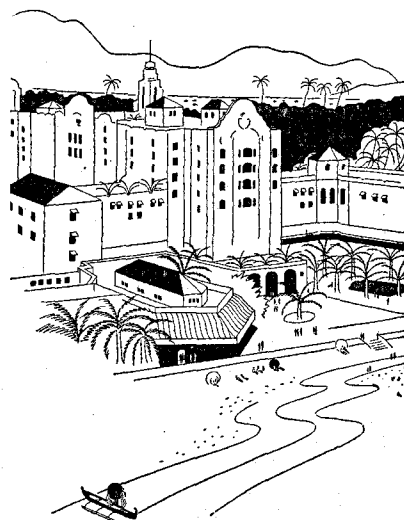
Island the World Forgot

Sir:

You may imagine my surprise and interest in running into the article, "The Island the World Forgot," in the NEW OUTLOOK. I consider that rescue of the colonists from the desolate island one of the highlights of my naval career.

I can't help but wonder how you became interested in the story, and congratulate you upon your success in printing it. My official report of the rescue was released to the press at the time of its receipt at the Navy Department, with only the elision of the ship's name, and was widely published throughout the country. As you state in your article news from the battlefields of Europe eclipsed other news. . . . I think I can give you a little light on certain points about which you are in doubt. The reason the colonists were forgotten was, that soon after the shipwrecked crew of the *Nokomis* were taken off, Huerta was deposed, and whenever it was suggested to the Carranza government that supplies be sent to the island, the answer was, "They are Huertistas. Let them die." Captain de Arnaud and the men he forced into a boat to row out to a ship, which in his demented condition he imagined he saw, were

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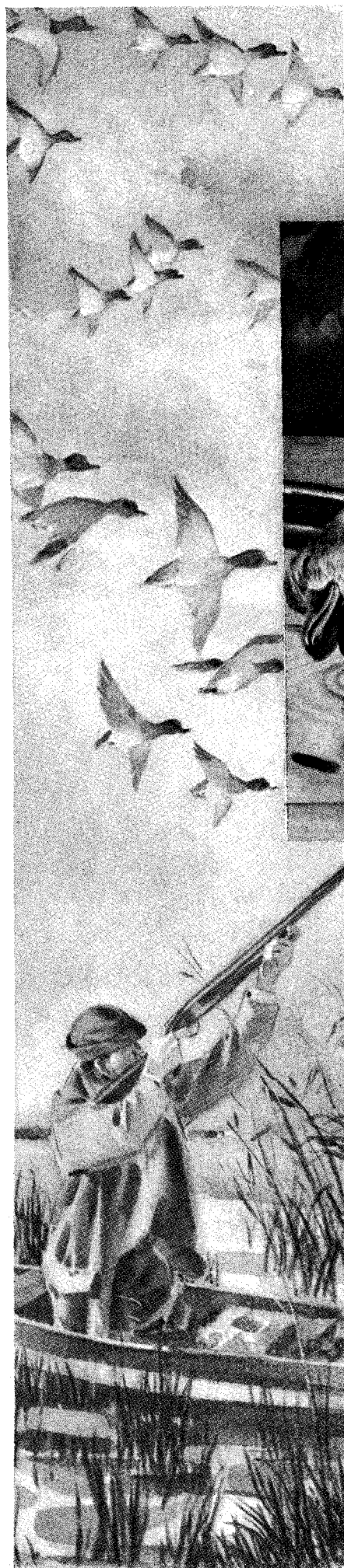
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BERMUDA

drowned or eaten by sharks when the boat overturned as the men were trying to overpower him to take the gun away from him. Shortly after this tragedy both Senora de Arnaud and Tirza Randon gave birth to babies.

The most dramatic part of the story was not stressed in my official report as I was afraid of the effect it might have upon the fortunes of Tirza Randon. The lighthousekeeper treated the women so frightfully that when one of them resisted him he killed her. After that he was terribly afraid of Senora de Arnaud and told her that she would never leave the island alive because she would tell of his murdering this woman. He went around constantly with a dagger strapped to his wrist and often at night Senora de Arnaud would awake to find him standing by her bed with a dagger in his hand. But something restrained him. Finally, he had compelled Tirza Randon to live at his hut for a week, and they had quarrelled violently. Senora de Arnaud on her way to kill birds for the day's food, stopped at the lighthousekeeper's hut to see if she could settle the quarrel. She thought she had calmed them both as the man rather kindly told her she need not bother to get any birds as he had already killed enough for them all for the day. As he turned around to watch a bird he was roasting on a spit, Tirza Randon grabbed a hammer and hit him on the head with such force as to knock him out. A second blow was sufficient to kill him. Then she took his dagger and made a perfect sieve of his face. The women had long debated how they could get rid of the fiend. When the deed was accomplished they were naturally much wrought up. Rushing from the hut they saw the *Yorktown* approaching the island, the first ship they had seen in more than three years and two months. Two days later, when I had an interview with Senora de Arnaud in my cabin, she told me the lighthousekeeper had died of scurvy. But Lieutenant Kerr had seen the body in the hut and knew he had just been killed. There was no way to bury the body so he was left to the land crabs which had already begun their work when Mr. Kerr made his gruesome find.

I trust I have not bored you with the above.

Sincerely yours,
H. P. PERRILL,
Captain, U. S. Navy, Ret.,
Point Loma, Calif.

Doctor's Plight

Sir:

Sorry to have to tell you I'll have to discontinue my subscription. Having to cut down on a lot of things. Doctors are going to be in a sorry plight if conditions continue as they are. Of course, no one could help the drought and as we are in a farming community, our patients are hard hit.

DR. ANNIE B. ALGUIRE,
Belvidere, Ill.

(Continued on page 62)



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NEW OUTLOOK

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NEW OUTLOOK



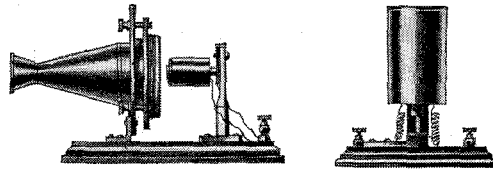
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Volume 164

Number 4

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The test of trying times has shown the soundness of its structure and the rightness of its one policy, one system and universal service.

Bell Telephone System



NEW OUTLOOK

EDITORIAL

Just Ahead of Czechoslovakia

IN the time for electioneering, of the making of political promises there is no end. The recklessly hopeful candidate is the most profligate author of claims of "what I will do when elected," and it might be said that a valuable measuring stick exists for the confused voter in the rule that competence to hold office is invariably in an indirect ratio to the number of promises made.

In the current fall campaign, Upton Sinclair's promise to "abolish poverty in California" would seem to place him second to none in the matter of promise making. It is a decidedly large order, and the only conceivable consequences of any portion of its fulfillment would be to inundate the State of California with the unemployed and poverty-stricken from other States not so fortunate as to be enjoying any Uptonian EPIC plan.

In a later, but somewhat more tolerant, stage of his campaign, Upton Sinclair wrote in *Upton Sinclair's Epic News*, "I shall make things as easy as possible for those who have difficulty in accepting my point of view." In the classification of promises that is another rather large order. On the basis of his promises, his victory in the California primaries appeals to Henry L. Mencken, the Baltimore sage as "of a kind unparalleled in history. He not only beat George Creel, Wall Street and the Booze Trust; he also beat Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin and the whole Adams family, not to mention St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Plato, Aristotle, Socrates and Solomon. The only losers in all Southern California are the taxpayers."

In the pre-convention and pre-election campaigns of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 there was no indication of what a formidable array of accepted defenders of liberty and the rights of property—whole schools of them—would go down, and stay down in the event of his victory. Certainly it is becoming increasingly apparent that the American taxpayer *was* among the losers.

It is latterly becoming popular both in our industrial centers and in Washington to believe that business uncertainty, which keeps us still dangerously close to the bottom of the Depression, which we reached in the summer of 1932, would be eliminated if the President would speak some encouraging word to American business. Should it be necessary to remind American business that Mr. Roosevelt in his campaign addresses spoke many such encouraging words; to recall that in his campaign speeches he promised to curtail public expenditures, to reduce government bureaucracy, to balance the budget, and to maintain a sound currency?

But perhaps those after all were just campaign promises. And perhaps, too, a little concerted effort on the part of the New Dealers to see that they were fulfilled and we might not find the United States in eleventh place in industrial production in the latest listing in the League of Nations Bulletin of Statistics. We are behind Japan, behind Chile, behind Norway, behind Sweden, behind Great Britain. Also in front of us are Hungary, Germany, Italy, Canada and France. It is small encouragement to report that we are just ahead of Czechoslovakia.—F. W.

RACIAL PREJUDICE: A RACKET

The Coming Boom in Hate

by Cedric Fowler

One hundred and three American organizations participate today in the revival of the business of race and creed hatred. Its springs are in the historic origins of man.

The modern world-wide revival begins with Hitler. His most successful year: 1933.

* * *

"Ya kin search me. All I know is that fourteen generals lived at Headquarters with their wives and kids. Art J. Smith, he's the top shirt so he lives on the top floor. He chows best in the outfit and alone too."

—From the testimony of a frightened follower.



force, roused and formulated for definite material ends, and expressing itself in the policy of whole nations. It has progressed from sporadic bitterness to a settled plan and an accepted régime.

This development has come about, largely through Fascism; an aftermath of the war's upheavals. Germany is today its highest exponent. For the first time in history, the ruling powers of a modern state have made racial terror a major basis of their dominance. The highest Nazis have not repudiated it. For the benefit of foreign visitors they have made denials so disingenuous as to deceive no one, but to their own people they proclaim and glory in a vicious and relentless policy of racial hate.

This phenomenon is modern in every outward respect. It is the newest thing in stepping stones to political power. It utilizes all the advantages of present day technique. Every resource of propaganda—and that includes a considerable field—is employed in carrying it to fruition. No matter how medieval the background of racial prejudice, its exploiters have known how to employ every up-to-the-minute device. And with it goes a drilled and ordered cruelty unparalleled in the history of persecution. Under Hitler and his subordinate commanders, the art of sadism against minority groups has been pushed almost to perfection. No torment or no humiliation is too primitive or too erudite for the Nazis to adopt. They have shown themselves masters both of past methods and inventors of new.

The Nazis are not alone. Other countries have duplicated the German model. In general, anti-Semitism has been the favorite racial note. In some countries the Fascist politicians have had a simple task in utilizing hatreds already at hand. In others it has been necessary to manu-

THE fifth year of the world economic crisis has brought a new contribution to the history of human cupidity—the deliberate, organized exploitation of racial hate. The world has had antagonisms before, in the medieval persecutions of the Jews, the hatred between Christian and Moslem, conflict between Latin and Teutonic peoples, but never on the planned, disciplined scale we are witnessing now. Racial hate has become a definite political

fracture them from the beginning. Austria, for example, has never been noted for racial bitterness, yet under *Heimwehr* rule the Viennese are learning to hate the Jews as rapidly as their natures will allow. The Rumanian Fascists—the Iron Guard—found a virulent anti-Semitism waiting for their organizing talents to work upon. Most of the Balkan countries, notably Bulgaria, Yugo-Slavia and Turkey, have embraced Fascism, and with it one form or another of organized enmity to their fellow men. The three smaller Baltic states are under Fascist rule, with the same ethnological trimmings hiding the nakedness of dictatorial government.

The virus of race hatred has spread all over the world. In every case it has been seized upon by shrewd and unscrupulous racketeers as a prime support in their bid for power. Both the method and the purpose of its exploitation are universal. The Fascist leader has had the wit to find discontent and to direct it into racial lines—strictly for his own benefit. He has turned latent emotions—fear, resentment and the desire for a personalized evil—into political gold. Such a talent and such opportunities know no boundaries; their spread is worldwide.

All the nominally democratic countries are supplied with ambitious impressions of hate whose chief stock in trade is racial neurosis. France, England, Ireland, several of the British Dominions, a number of Latin American republics, Japan, the sober Scandinavian countries, even the quiet Netherlands have their professional saviours, thrusting for power and wealth on the strength of some fictitious menace to the national life. The Fascist

model is distinctly an export commodity. Already there is plenty of evidence that it has crossed the Atlantic. The race business is now being taken up in the United States. And the evidence points unmistakably to one aspect of the whole unsavory deal—the aspect of racketeering. Racial hate in America, as in Europe, is predominantly a profit making enterprise.

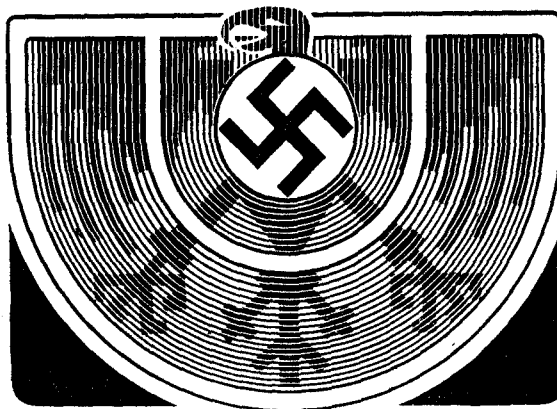
The big boom in the hate market has come since 1933—one of the lowest years in industrial history, but the highest in the quotations on racial bitterness. In January of that year Adolf Hitler came to power. The connection is easy to discover. The rewards of successful exploitation of hatred have been glittering, in power, glory and financial gain. The Austrian housepainter, once so sadly humiliated at finding himself a working man, has become *Reichsführer*, national idol and god. With one shrewdly applied idea, he has become saviour of his country and its highest official. No one can despise him now, as he felt the world once did. Hating “the Leader” becomes simply a mark of enlistment among the national enemies he has so fearlessly denounced. Criticism identifies the critic with sinister, sub-human forces ranged against the state. The successful Leader is, in brief, the greatest man, hero, sage and counsellor the centuries have ever produced.

Fascist supporters share in this power and glory. Following “the Leader,” whoever he may be, they become

minor saviours and heroes in their turn. Combatting the “menace” under his orders they save themselves and the race from almost nameless horrors. And in the process the more astute among them take their share of the spoils of office once their mob is in power.

Market conditions in the race business are not complex. The ultimate consumer comes chiefly from one class of people—the *petit bourgeoisie*. They are the best customers the Leader can find for racial bitterness; not because of original sin, but for reasons of economic force. Prolonged economic distress hits the small white collar citizens with peculiar emotional effect. They are for the most part people with strong yearnings for respectable social position. They fear above all disasters which will reduce them to proletarian levels. They live uncomfortably close to those levels at best. Economic depression, especially with inflation, makes their struggle to stay up in vain. Their small property and their fixed incomes go, their unimportant jobs disappear in the first wave of rationalization, their savings are swallowed in the first of the bank failures.

Unlike the working class, the small white collar people have no unions responsible for the defense of their living conditions. They are individualists, and when ruggedness wears thin under repeated economic blows, they turn to “the Leader” who knows how to build up their confidence again. As individualists, they prefer a personal scapegoat for their sufferings. The younger and more impressionable want the lay figure in plain sight, where they can get at him. This “the Leader” produces. Looking down the list of possible menaces, he finds one or more



which will do. Jewish bankers, for example, who have stolen the people's money, as part of the plot to enslave the race. Jewish reds are in the plot to mop up on what little property the bankers have left. Aliens, jealous of racial purity and national achievement, are found plotting attack. Catholic conspirators are sworn to deliver every Protestant body and soul to Rome. And to give the message a progressive flavor, “the Leader” promises to destroy slavery to capital, though at the same time making a distinction in favor of any little capital his clients may possess.

Having announced the peril, “the Leader's” next task is to put courage into his supporters. This is done through the use of uniforms, drill, parades and belligerent gestures on every possible occasion. The Menace is threatened in military formation every Sunday, holiday, day off and almost every evening after work. At each meeting “the Leader” speaks to his men, promising them violent action as soon as they can lay hands on their enemies. Guillotines, scaffolds, shootings figure very prominently in his remarks—indicating that at last something will be done. To the bewildered, frightened body of his supporters this is reality. It is also very up-building. No one else has ever bothered to tell them what heroic fellows they are, and no one else has offered such a chance to show the world what they can do.

This is the formula. Given similar class conditions and a similar state of social and economic crisis, it can be applied in any nation. The people wait. "The Leader" comes, scapegoats are found, hatred built up against them, and Fascism, with organized racial hate as its keystone, is brought to power.

Conditions inviting the application of this formula are present in the United States. We have had almost five years of economic crisis. A certain optimism existing in the early months of the Depression has ebbed away. The recognized forms of democratic government seem increasingly powerless to deal with the situation. Impatience with this failure is growing. Hoover's do-nothing policy brought the first of the discouragement. In 1932, it was fashionable to talk about revolution, dictatorship, and the coming of the man on horseback. Roosevelt's election offered new hope. Under the devious and often silly formulations of the New Deal that hope is now waning. Continuing depression, discouragement, and increasing doses of inflation are setting the stage for a dispossessed class which will turn to the mob spellbinder who can find a universally acceptable scapegoat for all the nation's ills.

To speak frankly, there is plenty of material in America for the Fascist spellbinder to work on. We are well equipped with racial and minority enmities. Anti-Semitism is an established practice, though in its gentler aspects as yet. Protestants and Catholics do not love each other, liberal clerics to the contrary. Suspicion and dislike of aliens is plentiful, especially where masses of immigrant labor are collected. There are definite residuals of Civil War bitterness. Nationalism flourishes, aided by governmental attempts at autarchy, by resentment at debt repudiation, and by the general world atmosphere of preparation for war. These dislikes and prejudices are real and hearty emotions. For great numbers of people they are the basis of their entire attitude on political and social problems. Their expression is usually vigorous. The American people are not markedly milder in nature than others. They do not resemble the angels any more than Europeans do.

With these conditions, it has remained only for native leaders to step up to their opportunity. Here again our vast continent can provide the human material. As a nation, we are well supplied with spellbinders, rabble rousers and masters of the sucker arts in general. All through our history we have had orators, politicians, corn-doctors, land boom promoters, Swamis, Yogis, crystal gazers and the like operating on the public innocence. They have reaped a magnificent harvest. Wealth and social power have been showered on the man who can find new ways of exploiting his fellow's fears and credulity.

These entrepreneurs are turning now to the new bonanza—the field of racial hate. They are promoting and organizing racial enmity as rapidly as they can get into the new profession. Already there are 103 organizations whose chief appeal rests on racial and minority feeling. All of them have a Menace and call for militant action to save the nation. The ferocity of denunciation varies, some more rabid than others. Some of them want to save the nation and the world from the Jews, some from the Catholics, some from the Negroes, and others simply from



reds in general. All of them charge initiation fees and membership dues. Many sell the shirts that go with membership—at retail prices considerably higher than the members would have to pay at a theatrical costumer's. Each organization has a Leader. Naturally, the income from dues and shirt sales goes for his support. He has to be sustained while the great work goes on.

Two of the leading contenders in this lucrative field have been the Khaki Shirts and the Silver Shirts. The Khaki Shirts are at the moment somewhat in retreat, with their Leader serving a six year term in Sing Sing for perjury. The Silver Shirts, at last report, were flourishing. Both are typical examples of the successful exploitation of racial and minority hatred. As such, they will perhaps repay analysis.

The Khaki Shirts were for a few months last year the subject of considerable newspaper attention in Philadelphia, where they made their headquarters. Their Commander, Art J. Smith, was a forceful personality. In his early career he was arrested for robbing and almost murdering a working man. During the World War, he claimed to have served in Russia, where according to his own story he was one of Kerensky's right hand men. No record of such service was found in Washington. After the War, Commander Smith seems to have lived in obscurity until the idea of organizing a shirt movement came to him. Observing the defeat of the Bonus Army in 1932, the Commander saw his opportunity. The veterans were beaten and discouraged. They were also resentful, chiefly at the harsh way they had been expelled from Washington. Straggling back home in this mood, they were ripe for organization.

Commander Smith, however, was smarter than most—at least at the beginning. He allowed someone else to do the first work of organizing for him, namely ex-Commander Walters, who had placed himself at the head of the Bonus Army at Anacostia. Smith stepped in when the Khaki Shirts were already established, but it was his talent which brought the organization to its full flower in Philadelphia. Smith gave the outfit its military tone, took care of discipline, parades and the necessary speech-making. He also took care of the problem of uniforms.

This was Commander Smith's greatest contribution to the organizing of the Khaki Shirts. Under his guidance, a sliding scale of payments for initiations, dues and shirt paraphernalia was worked out. All incoming members paid two dollars for enlistment. Khaki shirts came at four dollars. Caps were first priced at seventy-five cents, later raised to the dignity of helmets at three dollars and fifty cents. Commissions in the Khaki Army were plentiful—



at a price. To be a Lieutenant cost twenty-five dollars, a Major fifty, while any amount from seventy-five to two hundred and fifty dollars made you a General. Special uniforms for these high ranking officers came from ten to fifteen dollars; epaulettes were reasonable at thirty cents. To make sure that Khaki money stayed at Headquarters where it belonged, Commander Smith wrote into the Constitution: *"No state organization shall be permitted to manufacture, sell or purchase any part of uniform or equipment. All uniforms, equipment or otherwise must be purchased through General Headquarters, as we have an exclusive contract with the manufacturers."*

Smith was, without doubt, simply a racketeer. All the money from dues and uniform sales went to him. At the break up of the organization, when its Philadelphia Headquarters were raided by police and process servers, Smith fled, taking an amount estimated at twenty-five thousand dollars with him. None of this was ever returned. One humble private, testifying in court after the collapse, replied to questions on benefits to members with: "Ya kin search me. All I know is that fourteen Generals lived at Headquarters with their wives and kids. Art J. Smith he's the top Shirt so he lives on the top floor. He chows best in the outfit and alone too."

Many of the members were unemployed veterans, desperate with insecurity and looking to Smith's promises for salvation. Scores of them used their last savings to buy shirts and membership. Smith's program was designed to catch this class first, though he had bait out for other classes as well. Immediate cash payment of the bonus was first on the list, followed by a demand for "the largest army and navy in the world." A bid for western support was shown in the demand for 16-to-1 silver. Direct Federal cash relief anticipated the carrying out of the Hopkins program. Demands for the election of Supreme Court judges, for the creation of large public works, and for nationalization of public utilities were made in an attempt to satisfy vague radical urges in potential supporters. The Khaki Shirts welcomed anyone, provided he fulfilled the simple conditions of American citizenship and could show possession of enough money to pay dues and buy a shirt.

Commander Smith was not a particularly gifted orator, and he was able to find only one Menace that seemed worthy of real alarm. This was the peril from "foreign Communists." As chief Khaki Shirt he proposed to settle this problem with clubs, and paraded his men armed with three-foot weapons for the purpose. For some reason, the Philadelphia police permitted this show of force, though

they are as watchful as any for Communist bombs.

The Commander also proposed a march on Washington, to ensure the national salvation. At first he simply planned to make President Roosevelt dictator, placing ten million loyal Shirts at his disposal. Later he changed his mind, stating at the outset of the march, "I don't say I will be the dictator. But the Khaki Shirts will select the dictator. However, I'm quite sure they will select me."

The march was an ignominious failure. Headquarters was raided, some arms found, and the Shirts dispersed. Smith missed his step in an attempted frame-up of an Italian anti-Fascist, and went to Sing Sing for his mistake. Obviously Smith was an adventurer, in the game simply for the money. As adventurer, he was too smart to take up an ordinary racket where the physical risks are high. Excessive greed and a clumsy play in the courts brought his downfall. But before he fell, he proved again how easy a process it is to swindle large sums from credulous people on the plea of saving them from a dismal fate at the hands of a Menace.

The Silver Shirts show more finesse. Their Leader is considerably more astute than Commander Smith, since he has neither been jailed nor seen his organization fall to pieces under him, though his career and methods are questionable enough in their own way. Mr. William Dudley Pelley, "Supernal Commander in Chief" has been successively a short story writer, scenario maker, spiritualist, mystic and dispenser of advice and comfort to the lovelorn. In all these professions he has been successful. One of his fictions, *"Seven Minutes in Eternity"* was read by two and a half million people, and recounted his adventures in Paradise during a fit of coma. In Asheville, N. C., where Mr. Pelley has his headquarters, he has organized Galahad College, where he claims 600 students are studying "the Great Migration of Souls to this Planet; How Divine Thought Operates on Matter; The Cosmic Meaning of Romantic Love;" and similar esoteric subjects. Through his magazine, Mr. Pelley cautions his followers; "My Dearly Beloved; Know ye not my Voice by now? Hearken then and hear, for I speak in sedate mien. Attune your ears to cosmic intelligence that in the last day ye may have shining armor to clothe your mortal nakedness."

Chief portion of the shining armor consists of the Silver Shirt, which Mr. Pelley will sell to all members for ten dollars. Cosmic intelligence comes through the Silver Shirt magazine, *"Liberation,"* which goes to all members—estimated by the Supernal Commander at two million. Purchase of the Shirt, plus a dues payment, makes the buyer one of the "gentlemen Silver Rangers who would ride to High Adventure, sounding their own warning tocsins to the real seditionist and the syndicalist agitator, inspiring faith and hope in the great body of the dizzied, pitchforked and intimidated populace." Membership is open to all Gentile citizens of good health, who are required to fill out three significant blanks on their application cards; (1) "I have banked in the following bank...." (2) Average normal income from profession or trade...." (3) I own the following real estate at present...."

Silver Shirt policy centres on anti-Semitism, with crushing of the Jews as cure for all the nation's troubles. According to the Supernal Shirt, Jews own "65 per cent of

our wealth and give arrogant orders to our representative officials, subverting our government to their own purposes and working a hardship on our people economically that is little short of Satanic." In Washington, Jews hold the highest New Deal positions, including President Roosevelt, who is "reliably reported to be the descendant of certain Dutch Jews." The Silver Shirts are divinely appointed to end this living hell for the American people, to lead them to become "a whole Christian nation, arising in the strength of its Gentile members....hurling the Jews out of the public domain by court martial methods." Court martial methods comprise concentration camps, expulsion and execution.

But these artists of fear and hatred do not restrict their talents to the retail sale of shirts. They are out for bigger and better things. They hope to be entrusted with a more serious and a far more lucrative task—the prevention and cure of "revolution," although they are themselves revolutionists. Some of them are quite frank about it. Commander George W. Christians of the American Fascists, for example, announces to prospective organizers: "It will take the mob to get us what we want at Washington." Hints for making an impressive mass spectacle of this mob are contained in the Commander's circular. "In expanding the new organization," he points out, "long economic argument . . . and by pointing out that now all we need is numbers to finish the job."

The "job" is the self-elected task of arranging and policing an apparently revolutionary mass. The potential Fascist leader first enlists his supporters, picking up on the way what easy money he can find from shirts and uniform regalia, dues and party organ subscriptions. To hold his storm troopers together, he preaches violent political and economic action to them. He denounces bankers, the money trust, soulless corporations—using anything that occurs to him as good rabble rousing material. Out of this material he makes a seemingly radical program for the consumption of the innocents who follow him. Once in power, he swears, they will clean out the money masters and install a reign of justice, freedom and security for all. This involves drastic action. The barons of finance will be overthrown and, to satisfy a simple taste for bloodshed, he promises they will be overthrown with violence.

To crisis ridden industry, this ominous tableau can be made to seem real. Strikes, growing unionization and a militant working class movement are an active threat to the established economic system. A skillful Fascist captain, with a well organized force at his back, can make himself look like the one man appointed to rescue society from *revolution*. He is in an excellent position to persuade a harassed capitalism that his services are indispensable. He can point to the mob outside the window, shouting for a new social order. He can also point to the disciplined way in which the shouts are raised. He can promise to control the revolutionary spirit behind the uproar—and can offer to do it, for a fee.

This stage has not yet been reached in our native efforts towards a new régime based on hate.

Mr. Pelley has concentrated on the racial hate side of the Fascist business. Other organizations spread their lines for more purely political and economic Menaces. The Industrial Defense Association, Inc., of Boston, specializes

in patriotic services, running a "Patriotic Speakers' Bureau" which will furnish lecturers on Americanism, Liberty, Preparedness and the like—all at a fee. The Order of '76, a semi-secret outfit centred in New York, specializes in industrial and radical spying. "For two years now," Mr. Royal Scott Gulden, its chief, explained recently, "we have been carrying on espionage to get at the root of things. We have been spying on racketeers, criminals and subversive interests." By racketeers, Mr. Gulden means labor agitators, union organizers and radicals of all kinds. The Crusaders of Economic Liberty devote themselves to attacks on the New Deal, with the interesting theory that Mr. Roosevelt and all his Brain Trusters are receiving constant shipments of Moscow gold. The White Shirts of California, an offshoot of the American Legion, offer their services in strike breaking, particularly in the sweated labor fruit and vegetable gardens. The National Watchmen in the East also offer a vigilante, anti-labor service to employers. The White People's Club of West Virginia devotes itself to keeping the Negro in his place, especially in the mining districts where strong arm methods are in demand.

All these Fascist and semi-Fascist organizations are in existence for a definite purpose—to capitalize fear and hostility wherever found, and to foment them where they do not already flourish. Profit is the dominant motive. Shirt organizations exist for dues, magazine subscriptions, and uniform sales. Vigilante outfits organize in the hope of employment by industrialists in need of anti-union experts. All of them have a chief or "Leader" who profits directly from their activities. The element of genuine patriotism they may possess is entirely clouded by this profit angle. The "Leaders" are shrewd and for the most part entirely unscrupulous promoters, using racial and economic hostility for their own ends. Some of them are successful go-getters in other lines, and it is impossible to credit them with belief in the racial and political nonsense they use for propaganda. William Dudley Pelley is such an example—a prosperous, self-made business man who cannot be deceived by the mystical and ethnological twaddle that he talks. It is, purely and simply, sucker bait and when properly applied is highly profitable. But it should be remembered that Hitler as a gifted impresario earned an excellent living by playing on his bewildered and anxious public. German industry came to a time where it required Hitler's services, or so he convinced them, in part by manipulating the sound effects of approaching revolution. Economic crisis deepened to the point where the German masses were threatening radical conversion. Hitler had a method which promised control. His oratory and his organization could be used to divert discontent into channels harmless to the masters of German capitalism. He was engaged; in his last legal election campaign, for example, Thyssen, the great Ruhr steelmaster, contributed nearly a million dollars to Nazi funds. In power, Hitler repaid his employers by smashing trade unions, driving radicalism underground, and reducing wages and social insurance costs. In addition, he placed enormous armament contracts with Krupp, Thyssen and others. Their original investment has been returned many times, with the living standard of the German people as ultimate source of funds.

If American industry finds itself in the German situation—deepening crisis, increasing mass discontent and growing labor radicalism—it may turn to one or another of the potential Fascist Leaders now offering themselves.

Trade Routes in the Sky

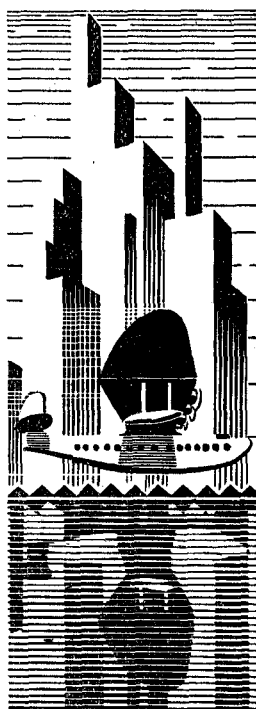
by William E. Berchtold

"Transoceanic routes constitute the last major problem in the development of the airlines of the world. The great distances between land on all routes south of the Arctic and the difficulties of climate and short hours of winter daylight on Arctic routes have combined to delay the inauguration of scheduled air services between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. The development of aircraft has now reached a point, however, which makes commercial transoceanic flying feasible. * * * Any of the transatlantic routes can be flown regularly. It is no longer a question of whether it is possible to operate an airline across the Atlantic—rather it is a question of which route can be flown now, and in the future, with the highest degree of efficiency."

—CHARLES A. LINDBERGH.

"Any company which maintains regular air service over routes, a large proportion of which cross foreign countries, has to encounter many difficulties, and of these none is greater than those presented by international politics."

—G. E. WOODS HUMPHREY.



Magellans. But all were agreed that some day men and goods would fly around the world on regular schedule.

That "some day" is closer to being charted on tomorrow's calendar than most people realize. The tenth anniversary of the first circumnavigation of the earth by air finds nation pitted against nation in spirited competition for control of the world's major air routes—the trade routes of tomorrow. Such an old ruler of empire as Great Britain, whose greatness in the past has been inextricably linked with trade on the high seas, is fast completing the air links between her far flung colonies and dominions with an "All Red Route" that will girdle the globe. The Netherlands, whose trading ships once claimed the whole world as their province, has transformed the Flying Dutchman into reality. France and Germany, other old dreamers of empire, are extending vast networks of international air lines to tap new empires of trade. And the United States is sending its new "Clippers of the Air" to recapture some of the rich world

JUST ten years ago American aviation stuck a bright feather in its cap: four young United States Army flyers had flown around the world for the first time. America was proud, for Americans had succeeded where Briton and Italian and Argentinian had tried and had failed. The four young lieutenants, Lowell Smith, Leslie Arnold, Erik Nelson and Jack Harding, were hailed as Magellans of the Air. Congress voted them its Distinguished Service Medal; France made them Chevaliers of the Legion of Honor; and Chambers of Commerce vied with each other to honor the flyers on the chicken *a la king* circuit to which the famous are traditionally consigned in their hour of fame. The world flight of 1924 seemed to be crowded with significance; each luncheon speaker tried vaguely to interpret its significance, and some talked glibly of regular air service for mail and passengers around the world within a decade, two decades, a half century. The world flyers themselves were certain only of this: that none would want to fly as they had flown unless they were ardent adventurers. Their flight of 26,345 miles from Seattle to Seattle had taken five months and twenty-two days; they had flown through fog and rain, monsoon and typhoon, bitter cold and blistering heat; and Magellan's little ship was palatial in the comforts it afforded compared with the ships of the air used by these latter day

trade which was America's in days of her glorious Clipper ships.

Today's pioneers who vie with each other for world trade supremacy in the air are not the adventurers whose spectacular flights make headlines. Such flights have cut the six months required by the Army world flyers in 1924 to the single week of Wiley Post's globe-girdling flight last year. But they constitute only isolated color highlights on a far greater canvas which is the work of much less spectacular but far more significant masters: America's Trippe (Pan American Airways); Great Britain's Woods Humphrey (Imperial Airways); Holland's Plesman (Royal Dutch Air Lines); Germany's Wronsky (Deutsche Luft Hansa); and France's Allegre (Air France). Today's pioneers are really the diplomats and technicians who work far from the cheering crowds. Theirs is not an easy task, for they seek to develop a vast international project in a day of intense nationalism. They work as rugged individualists, like the "empire builders" of an earlier day, at a time when it is fashionable to condemn rugged individualism.

The technicians have advanced their work so fast that the world stands on the threshold of realizing the establishment of the last links in a vast world system of scheduled air lines—those across the Atlantic and Pacific between the hemispheres. The technicians have developed

aircraft and equipment faster than plans and preparations for the use of that equipment could be advanced. Today's major problems, therefore, are not in the technical laboratory or in the air, but on the diplomatic front. Political snarls and economic entanglements are hampering the development of new trade routes through the air, which would aid a world groping for ways to reestablish normal trade relations and paradoxically raising walls of nationalism so high that trade between nations grows more difficult each month. Around the world, sovereign nations are being strangled by their own sovereignty.

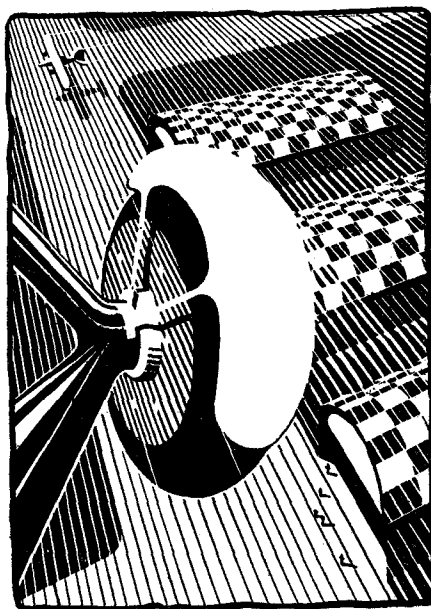
Two years before the Wright Brothers flew at Kitty Hawk in 1903, Fauchille wrote a treatise on international law of the air the principles of which today are the backbone of the conventions and practices which govern international air travel. The Air Convention lays down as the foundation of international law "that every power has complete and exclusive sovereignty over the air space above its territory." This all-important clause, formally adopted in 1919, marked the culmination of an argument which had been raging since Fauchille first set out his views in 1901. On the one side were marshalled the protagonists of "sovereignty," on the other the protagonists of "the freedom of the air." Before the War, Fauchille and France generally were for freedom; Great Britain was for sovereignty; international affairs were not sufficiently important to draw America into the discussion. During the World War every State realized the capacity for offensive action which existed in every aircraft flying over its territory, however high it might fly, and this realization so impressed itself that the Air Convention of 1919 affirmed in its first article the principle of sovereignty. Great Britain, originally an exponent of sovereignty, pleaded for more freedom in 1919, so that Article 2 of the Convention at least pays lip service to the principles of freedom and equality of status for aircraft in time of peace. While the Convention partially opened the way for an interpretation which would have tended toward freedom of the air in time of peace, the growing nationalism of post-war years has boiled down the wordy document of 1919 to these two points: first, that each State has complete sovereignty over the air above its territory and territorial waters (Article 1 of the Convention); and second, that no air service can be established without the prior permission of the States over which it wishes to pass (Article 15), which permission may be refused *without any reason being given*. These principles place the burden of effort for those who seek to establish international air lines on the diplomatic front, and there the contest for supremacy of the major world air routes has been waged for the last fifteen years.

The United States alone among the major nations had at the outset sufficient distances within its own borders to develop economically promising air lines. (Russia was not economically capable of pioneering air routes within

its national borders immediately following the War.) The American effort was centered on domestic routes until Great Britain, the Netherlands, Germany, France and Italy had already obtained a toe-hold in many parts of the world. Almost from the start, the major European powers wrestled with international complications because short routes within their own borders were immediately recognized as illogical and unprofitable. Air transport needs room to stretch its legs to advantage, and the Netherlands, Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy sought to gain that advantage. Each had far scattered colonies or natural trade centers to serve as an incentive, and each visioned the possibilities of pioneering routes which would some day return a handsome profit to the pioneers, just as the ship-

ping trade by sea had done in an earlier day. All took a careful appraisal of their key political advantages (colonies, dominions, possessions, protectorates, and concessions), but none held sufficient contiguous territory to extend international air lines from centers at home to the rich markets of the world. Thus it became apparent that the richest plums of world trade by air would go to the cleverest diplomats, the best bargainers, the shrewdest traders.

The first period in the expansion of international air routes was confined to the continent of Europe. The Air Convention of 1919 was followed by agreements between the several governments granting either reciprocal privileges for scheduled flights over each other's territory or the pooling of equipment for the operation of routes between the capitals and major international trade centers. Thus the first air services were started, chiefly by adventurers returned from the war with a penchant for things aeronautical bred from their war-time experiences. None could operate the pioneer services profitably, and all sought aid in the form of subsidies and mail contracts from their governments. As quickly as each government recognized the trade and military potentialities of such aeronautical pioneering, each hastened the consolidation of its national effort into a single, subsidized company: the flag of the Netherlands was carried by its Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij (Royal Dutch Air Lines); Germany's several pioneer lines were merged into Deutsche Luft Hansa; Great Britain's early companies were consolidated in 1924 to form Imperial Airways; and France belatedly followed their leadership only last year with the formation of Air France. Belgium had entered the field with her Sabena (Société Anonyme Belge d'Exploitation de la Navigation Aérienne); Austria with her Austrian Air Traffic Company (Oesterreichische Luftverkehrs, A.G.); Czechoslovakia with her Skoda-controlled Czechoslovakian Air Traffic Company; Denmark with her Danish Air Transport Company (Danske Luftfartsselskab A/S); Russia through the German-Russian Deruluft; Finland through her Finnish Air Service (Aero Osakeyhtiö); Italy with her Società Aerea Mediterranea; Norway with her Norwegian Air Transport Company (Norske Luft-ruter A/S); and, similarly, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia.



But international air lines were not to be confined to mere continents: experience gained within the confines of each continent warranted expansion of lines between the continents. The two years before Lindbergh's flight to Paris witnessed unheralded but intensive preparation for the opening of new air routes between Europe and Asia and Africa; and the first seeds of international competition in South America were planted by European powers looking to the day when inter-hemisphere routes might knit together their scattered lines into an integrated world air system. The major inter-continental routes are in operation today; it remains for the inter-hemisphere services to be opened over the Pacific and the North Atlantic to complete the picture, for Europe and Africa and South America are now linked across the South Atlantic with regular air services opened early this year.

Today Great Britain, Holland, France and Germany are pitted against each other for superior advantage on the long air routes between the major European capitals and the Far East. Great Britain, France and Italy are contestants for the air trade routes between the European capitals and the richest colonial centers of Africa. France and Germany (with the probable entry of Italy) are matching their skill and wits on the routes between Europe and South American trade centers, both seeking to gain an advantage for European shippers over Americans who are served by the inter-continental system of Pan American Airways. The United States, Great Britain, Holland, France and Germany all are preparing to make their bid across the North Atlantic between Europe and North America. Between North and South America, Pan American Airways holds an undisputed advantage. Across the Pacific—the last link in the international systems which will girdle the globe—the United States and Great Britain are proceeding with a program of preparations. It is not unlikely that the Netherlands, France and Germany will seek to extend their routes across the Atlantic and the Pacific, if satisfactory diplomatic negotiations can be concluded to such an end.

When the period of inter-continent expansion first opened, Great Britain appeared to have a decided political advantage, at least on paper, because of her more numerous dominions, colonies, protectorates and dependencies. They were the stepping stones of an "All Red Route" which Imperial Airways mapped out to girdle the globe, two of its major lines forking out from Cairo: one through Asia to Australia and the other through Africa to Capetown. Imperial Airways, working through the British Air Ministry, which had agreed to subsidize the service, was ready to open the line between Cairo and Karachi, India, in 1926, but was stopped at the Persian frontier. Persia had refused to permit British aircraft to fly even along the coast of the Persian Gulf; German interests had obtained a monopoly on civil aviation in Persia through the Junkers Luftverkehr Persian. The British spent three years before they loosened

this stranglehold upon their ambitions for world air traffic, finally obtaining a three-year permit to fly along the Persian Gulf in 1929, opening the service from England to India by way of Cairo. But British troubles did not end there, the Persian Government soon announced that at the end of the three-year agreement British aircraft would have to follow an "aerial corridor" through Persia, specified as Baghdad-Amara-Isfahan-Yezd-Bam-Gwadar. When the British finished scanning their orographical charts of this route they were more bewildered; it extended across desert, through precipitous gorge and over mountains from 6,000 to 14,000 feet high for 1,300 miles. The Persians had devised a more circuitous way of forbidding Imperial Airways to reach India and later Australia by the most

direct route. British agents were soon dickering with the Sheiks of Kuwait, Bahrain and Trucial Oman, independent rulers on the Arabian coast, and with His Majesty King Ibn Saud, and with the Sultan of Muscat. Sir Hugh Biscoe, who bore the brunt of the negotiations for the British, died during the course of the discussions, but agreements were finally concluded which gave Imperial Airways Kuwait, Bahrain and Shargah as stopping places along the Arabian coast and a gateway around Persia to India and the East. Although overshadowed by the intricacies of the Persian problem, Italy likewise placed obstacles in the path of the British Imperial Airways, refusing entry of British planes from France into Italy and at Tobruk in Italian Cyrenaica. Imperial quickly swung its route through Central Europe to avoid Italy, then later trained

its passengers and cargoes from Basle to Brindisi. When Lord Londonderry, the British Secretary of State for Air, was returning from India early this year, he stopped at Rome, spent three days with the British Ambassador, Sir Eric Drummond, and announced that negotiations with the Italian Air Ministry had cleared the way for Imperial Airways to fly over Italy. But Imperial's air liners still do not fly over Italian territory; rumor now attributes the new troubles to France!

Nationalistic ambitions in India blocked the eastward extension of Imperial Airways' plans until last year when G. E. Woods Humphery, Imperial's Managing Director, was able to announce the conclusion of a complicated arrangement through which Imperial Airways and an Indian company, Indian Trans-Continental Airways, were to jointly operate the route from Karachi to Singapore across India, Burma, Siam to Malaya. Imperial Airways owns 51 per cent of the Indian company's stock and is, for all practical purposes, the operating manager of the route across India, which was extended to Calcutta in July, on to Rangoon in October, and finally to Singapore in December of last year. Australia's intense nationalistic ambitions, fed by a half dozen native adventurers such as the illustrious Sir Charles Kingsford-Smith, threatened to delay further extension of the Imperial Empire route to Australia. Imperial sent one of its newest air liners, the *Atalanta*, piloted by its astute Air Superintendent, Major H. G. Brackley, D.S.O., on a "survey" junket to Australia last year, brought



back to England as a passenger Australia's war-time pilot and managing director of "Qantas" (Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Services, Ltd.), Hudson Fysh. Fysh and two Western Queensland sheep squatters had formed "Qantas" in 1920, ran it on a shoe-string, and were more fortunate than Kingsford-Smith in their avoidance of bankruptcy. The upshot of Fysh's visit to England was Imperial's announcement of a concordat with "Qantas" for the formation of a joint company, Qantas Empire Airways, to bid for the Australian contract to operate from Singapore to Darwin to Brisbane. The company was successful in its bidding, so that the British will realize the completion of their long air route from England to Australia through an extension to be made late this year.

The African route from Cairo to Capetown, although it offered more physical and technical obstacles to its operation, was not beset with a host of diplomatic troubles such as Imperial Airways experienced on the England-India-Australia service. The African route extends through less civilized but more politically friendly territory, from Cairo through Egypt, the Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Rhodesia to the Union of South Africa. However, there have been political rumblings in the Union of South Africa within the last few months which threaten to give Imperial Airways trouble if the through service from London to Capetown is not interrupted at the South African border. South African aviation has become entangled in South African politics, which is a constant struggle between the British inhabitants and the descendants of the original Dutch settlers. The Dutch have been gaining the upper hand in key political positions, with the result that German products and German services are being given preference to British.

Although Great Britain appeared to have the greatest political advantage on paper when the race for air routes from Europe to Asia and Africa first opened, it was not Great Britain, but the Netherlands which first reached the Far East from Europe with regular air service. The story of Holland's K.L.M. is the story of its Managing Director, Albert Plesman. K.L.M. is the oldest air line in the world today, conceived and formed in 1919 by its first and only Managing Director. Representing one of the smallest nations in the world, K.L.M. became a first rate power on the world's air routes through its display of superior technical skill, its well disciplined staff, and its extraordinarily successful diplomatic negotiations. With the blessings and subsidy of the Dutch Queen, Plesman carried on his own negotiations with the many nations which separate the Netherlands from her colonies in the Far East. While the British were beset with difficulties in Italy, in Persia, and in India, Plesman obtained operating agreements which permitted K.L.M. to operate on a direct route from Amsterdam to Batavia in Java. Now he seeks to retain the advantages gained by opening the first route across the major Asiatic trade route by maintaining the

fastest service in competition with Imperial Airways and Air France, which parallel the route over most of the distance.

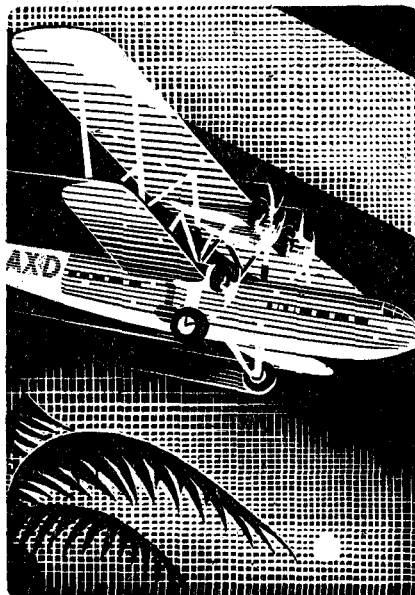
While Imperial Airways was still making Karachi its eastern terminus, France's Air Orient flung a line from Paris to Saigon in French Indo-China. France, likewise, had hurdled the obstacles which were besetting the British in Italy, Persia, and India. France also had the advantage, although from an economic standpoint it is a doubtful one, of flying the most direct of all routes to the Far East: across Syria from Athens to Baghdad instead of the more circuitous but potentially profitable line by way of Cairo.

France's Aéropostale also extended services into Northern Africa and along the African west coast to Dakar, where fast French warships carried the mail across the South Atlantic to other planes of Aéropostale in South America, operating in Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile. Aéropostale and Air Orient were consolidated last year into Air France, following a French political upheaval which placed Louis Allegre, Air Orient's pioneer director, in power as Director General of Air France.

Forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles to develop military aviation, Germany threw her aeronautical efforts with redoubled vigor behind civil aviation through the Deutsche Luft Hansa, whose managing directors, Otto Merkel and later Martin Wronsky, made Germany the dominant factor in European air transport

and then sought to obtain footholds in South America and in the Far East through secretly affiliated air companies. The Condor Syndicato holds important operating rights and contracts along the east coast of South America. The German-Russian company, Deruluft, links Germany's European network with Russia's new air lines. The Sino-German company, Eurasia, operates in China to provide the eastern link in Germany's plan for a through service from Berlin to Shanghai across Russia, a plan not yet fully realized because of political difficulties in Russia and in Manchuria. The Deutsche Luft Hansa paralleled France's service down the African west coast, opened the first scheduled air service across the South Atlantic, and thus linked the capitals of Europe with the principal centers of South America through a combination of the Deutsche Luft Hansa and the Condor Syndicato services.

Both Germany and France were flying a full year in South America before the United States entered the field. Both sought to regain the trade advantage in South America which European nations enjoyed before the World War, and which the United States gained to a large degree during the war. Before air services were inaugurated, European exporters had the advantage of nine to ten day shipping services between Europe and Rio de Janeiro as compared with fifteen to twenty-one days between New York and Rio. It was not until February of this year that the Deutsche Luft Hansa and Air France opened their regular air services across the South Atlantic, cutting the



time still further to a schedule of from four to six days between Europe and South American east coast centers. The South Atlantic services have provided a new challenge to the United States company, Pan American Airways, a challenge which will be met fully before the end of the year by three new trans-Atlantic type Sikorsky S-42 flying boats which cruise at 150 miles an hour. The new Pan American Clippers, the first of which has already made its inaugural flight over the route, will be scheduled to equal or better the time of the German and French services, which carry only mail, while Pan American's planes provide a complete service for mail, passengers and express.

Although European interests have provided the United States with lively competition for supremacy on the air routes of South America, Pan American Airways unquestionably holds the dominant position in the thirty-two countries which it serves with 21,000 miles of air routes. Back of Pan American's growth is the story of its genial, visionary, youthful President, Juan Terry Trippe, and his circle of technical and diplomatic experts. Trippe's spacious office on the fifty-eighth floor of New York's Chrysler building commands a view of the East River traffic, lower Manhattan's skyscrapers and the New York harbor over which Pan American's trans-Atlantic airliners may fly in the not too distant future. It is a perfect inspirational setting, and in it Pan America's President has been turning dream-stuff into reality. At thirty-six, he is the head of the world's largest international air transport system. The huge mariner's globe which stands near his desk lacks many of the names of cities in the Western Hemisphere at which Pan American's planes already stop, and each year sees new names added to the list of cities served by the vast network of air lines which circle the Caribbean, loop all of South America, and stretch into the interiors of Alaska and China. Diplomatic negotiators and technical survey parties have been working for several years to fulfill President Trippe's plan for new routes across the Atlantic and over the Pacific. His technical staff, headed by Andre Preister, clever, little, Dutch-trained mechanical genius, is ready to provide the ships and the men to man them on the trans-oceanic routes, but the economic and political aspects of the project are now delaying plans for immediate fulfillment.

Pan American's staff of "diplomats" is headed by Evan E. Young who resigned from the State Department in 1930 to become vice-president of Pan American in charge of its foreign department. Young had been Minister to Ecuador, Bolivia, and the Dominican Republic, chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, chief of the Division of Eastern European Affairs, and in other high State Department posts. Associated with Young are vice-president George L. Rihl, who created the first air line in Mexico and now represents Pan American in countries along the west coast of South America; vice-president J. C. Cooper, who represented the United States at the Rome Air Con-

ference and was recently added as Pan American's general European representative; Harold M. Bixby, one of Lindbergh's original St. Louis backers and now head of Pan American's Far Eastern interests; Robert H. Logan, Canadian war ace who handles Pan American negotiations with Canada; Grant Mason, suave representative in Cuba; Robert Long, former commercial attaché at Lisbon who is now negotiating with Portugal for use of the Azores; E. R. Silliman, representative in Central America; and Stokeley W. Morgan, formerly chief of Latin American Affairs for the State Department and now in charge of Pan American's negotiations on the east coast of South America. On their shoulders rests the task of completing political and economic agreements with the countries over which Pan American Airways seeks to extend its routes, and of maintaining satisfactory relations with the countries already served by the Pan American system.

Pan American's trans-Atlantic service, once it is inaugurated, will be flown in close co-operation with Imperial Airways. The two companies have been negotiating jointly for the use of the Azores as a stopping point on one of the projected routes. France originally obtained an exclusive concession from Portugal in the Azores, but the agreement was abrogated last year for non-performance of the contract; thus the way has been opened for the United States and Great Britain to seek the consent of Portugal for operations in the Azores. Great Britain already has the advantage of controlling Bermuda, an advantage which Imperial Airways has arranged to share with Pan American. Sir Eric Geddes, Chairman of Imperial Airways, announced at the last meeting of stockholders that "we hope during next year to be able to establish, in conjunction with and in full coöperation with Pan American Airways, a service between Bermuda and the United States."

The Bermuda-Azores route from the United States to Europe is only one of several which have been studied, while negotiations have been furthered to cover all possible routes. Pan American has a 75-year franchise to operate in Iceland, originally granted to Transamerican Airlines, which turned its rights over to Pan American because of inability to obtain similar concessions in Greenland from the Danish Government. The Icelandic franchise without a concession in Greenland would be of little value. Pan American has been working closely with the Danish officials and

permission has been granted to Pan American to carry out extensive surveys in Greenland. Imperial Airways has been considering the possibilities of a direct route from England through Ireland across the Atlantic to Newfoundland and then across Canada to the Pacific as a part of its "All Red Route" around the world.

The technical advances of the past year, principally as embodied in the new Sikorsky S-42 with its 3,000 mile range and 150 mile-an-hour cruising speed, threw a new slant on the selection of a trans-Atlantic route. The new



developments virtually eliminate the old worries of obtaining permission for the use of certain island possessions of the powers to operate such a service. The questions now confronting those projecting the Atlantic route are not concerned with which is the politically feasible route, but which will be the most economic route. It remains for the governments of the nations to be served by such a route to grant mail contracts to warrant the establishment of the services; the route selected can be plotted to serve the largest potential group of shippers. From a technical standpoint, Pan American Airways has an edge over all other companies seeking to span the North Atlantic. Its years of operations across the hurricane-ridden Caribbean, especially on the 600-mile all-water hop from Kingston, Jamaica, to Barranquilla, Colombia, have provided ample experience for the longer trans-oceanic service; and its new Sikorsky and Martin Clipper-type flying boats are the first economically feasible aircraft built for the North Atlantic service.

This technical progress gives Pan American a decided edge over its competitors in the competition for trans-Pacific routes as well. The Sikorsky S-42 is capable of negotiating the Pacific crossing from San Francisco to Honolulu, 2,400 miles, and on by the island route to the Philippines and China. The United States has the added advantage of controlling all the island-stepping-stones on the trans-Pacific crossing. Pan American can add to this its firm foothold in China, obtained through the purchase from Curtiss-Wright of its minority interest in the China National Aviation Corporation. Through the latter corporation, Pan American is in partnership with the Federal government of China in the operation of its mail and passengers routes, an exclusive privilege within the national borders of the republic. Plans for extending the Chinese service from Amoy to Manila have been under consideration for some time. If the far northern route across the Pacific to the Far East should be chosen, Pan American would again have an advantage for it owns and operates all of the air routes in Alaska, with years of experience in flying under Arctic condition. Harlee Branch, Assistant Postmaster General of the United States, has been in Alaska for the last month investigating the feasibility of extending Pan American's services into Siberia on the way to the Far East.

No other country enjoys advantages as extensive as the United States for the establishment of the trans-Pacific service. Great Britain's "All Red Route" could reach the west coast of Canada without difficulty, but then it must turn either northward through Alaska and Russia, Manchuria or Japan, and China—with the attendant difficulties of obtaining permission for operations over those countries—or turn southward to cross the American-controlled islands of the Pacific. Within the last few months, the British Royal Air Force sent a squadron of flying boats on a survey flight around the China Sea during which a visit was made to United States territory in the Philippines. Imperial Airways contemplates the extension of its London-Indian-Australian service northward to Hongkong as soon as political factors can be brought under control. Although Great Britain enjoys certain concessions in Hongkong, Imperial Airways is facing the fact that Air France, the French international air system, has been granted the right to extend its line from Saigon in French Indo-China to

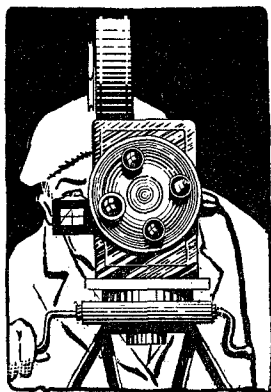
Hongkong. Extensions of the British system to New Zealand and New South Wales are logical future additions to the Australian route.

While the governments of Great Britain, Germany and France were directly responsible for the consolidation of their bid for control of world airways into the hands of a single, subsidized company in each country, Pan American Airways grew to its present predominant position as America's representative in the international field through private initiative. President Trippe worked tirelessly for several years to consolidate the American effort in the air transport field outside the United States, with the result that Pan American today has a semi-official status in dealing with foreign governments on air transport affairs.

Pan American was formed in 1927 to fly a mail service between Key West and Havana, and Trippe, at twenty-nine, became its president and general manager. The year before he had formed Colonial Airways, which got the first domestic mail contract between New York and Boston. By 1929, Pan American had straddled the Caribbean and in the following year, through an alliance with the Grace Line, extended its air routes down the west coast of South America. The east coast of South America was added as Pan American's province in mid-summer of 1930, when Ralph O'Neill's New York, Rio and Buenos Aires Line was acquired, and with it, mail contracts with the government of Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela. NYRBA was unable to obtain U. S. mail contracts; Pan American could not obtain the Argentinian, Brazilian and Venezuelan mail contracts; so Pan American bought NYRBA for 75,000 shares of stock. The following year, 1931, found Pan American with a large stock interest and later effective control of Colombia's national air line, Sociedad Colombo Alemana de Transportes Aereos or "Scadta." All of Cuba's air transport industry, including planes, airports and 850 miles of domestic routes, were bought by Pan American in 1932 when North American Aviation sold its Compañia Nacional Cubana de Aviación. Pan American's foothold in Alaska was obtained through the acquisition of Alaskan Airways from the Aviation Corporation in 1932, and of Pacific International Airways, another pioneer Alaskan operating company, in the same year. The nucleus for its lines in the Far East was acquired by purchase of the Chinese National Aviation Corporation's 45 per cent minority interest from the Curtiss-Wright group at a time when French and German interests were attempting to seize these concessions in China for their own international systems. Pan American's holdings in Mexico were supplemented by the formation of Aerovias Centrales, operating from Los Angeles and El Paso to Mexico City, in addition to the original Pan American subsidiary, Compañia Mexicana de Aviación, Mexico's oldest line. Similarly, Pan American formed UMCA (Urba, Medellin and Central Airline) to supplement the operations of "Scadta" in Colombia. Thus the American international bid for world air routes has been consolidated, so that Pan American Airways today is, in effect, the U. S. Merchant Marine of the Air.

There is little doubt but that Pan American Airways today enjoys an unusually advantageous position for control

(Continued on page 62)



Let's Wait for the Newsreel

by Anthony North

A bitter struggle impends between the major companies engaged in dispensing "news in motion." The Depression, the growth of chains of theatres, now being broken up, the advent of sound dealt serious blows to the newsreel, from which it is just now recovering. A new answer is expected to the patron's oft-repeated suggestion, "Let's wait for the newsreel."

IN truth, in recent years not so many of the half-million or more Americans who are reported to go each week to our motion picture palaces and to the second run neighborhood houses have been bothering to wait. Junior's restlessness after seven reels of West, Loy, Gable and/or Hepburn; or Sister's headache after the same dosage, has become acceptable grounds for voiding what once was sacrosanct in American mass worship before the silver screen. That loyalty was implicit in the one-time national apology, "But I only go to see the newsreels."

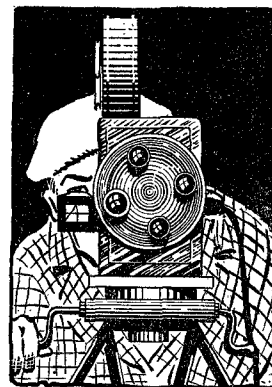
How, or exactly when, that bromide began to lose its force—and it was a force once so great that it led small, well appointed theatres in a few of the great metropolitan areas to specialize exclusively in the fare of newsreel films—it is difficult to state. The Depression, with the necessity to cut all expenses unmercifully, no doubt had much to do with it. But the boom that went before the fall also contained a kind of deadly virus. In that boom the larger producing companies began to acquire their own chains of theatres as a means to certain and continuous outlets for their super-spectacles as well as for their extremely regular program pictures. From this it was but a step to a decision on the part of the large Hollywood producers to supply the entire program, including the newsreel. Much of the spirit of free competition and rugged individualism went out of newsreel production right at that point. The often denied practice of block-booking, which nevertheless existed as a constant nightmare for the independent exhibitors, began to include the taking of the "big company" newsreel. In many cases it was free, or nearly free, bait. The exhibitor right then began to lose all idea that a newsreel was anything for which he ever should pay good money.

And now that cycle is closing. It is largely a forced closure, growing as it does out of the receiverships and bankruptcies of many of the large Hollywood producing

companies, which has been followed by divorcing these organizations from a direct to the consumer monopoly, the break-up of large coast-to-coast chains of theatres and the throwing of many of these houses upon the market. The result of this dissolution and the re-emergence of the private, independent exhibitor are the principal factors in the recreation of a new market for the newsreel. Such exhibitors will have the right once more to pick and choose their screen news pictures.

This fall the newsreels—five of them nationally known—will enter into a real battle to capture this business. Sharp realignments are now in the making in preparation for this war, from which there are many indications that the newsreel may emerge greatly altered, it is hoped improved. Hearst-Metrotone News will branch away from Fox Movitone News. The Hearst organization for many years has purchased its negatives from Fox. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, behind the Hearst outfit largely as distributor, is preparing to establish itself with its own news picture-gathering force. Money, at least in the early stages of this drive, is to be no important object. "Time," recently so successful in a promotion venture into the field of radio, plans to enter the newsreel world as the producer of a new type of newsreel. There is every indication that the business will be blasted wide open in a to-the-death struggle to capture this new, but nevertheless still limited, market.

With all apologies to the sincere and courageous workers in this field, the newsreel remains an extremely phony form. The transition from silence to sound has not been a happy one. It has made possible the screen interview, a type of news-opinion dissemination which it is extremely doubtful that the newsreel ever should have undertaken. In straight news reportage, to be 100 per cent successful the lens should be trained, the crank turning on any and every scene, wherever it may be, when a news event begins to occur thereon. This obviously is an impossible requirement to meet. Courageously accepting this unbeatable handicap, however, the men of the newsreels often move faster, get farther, and spare less expense, than do their cousins of other *genres* of news gathering. On the occasion of the recent marine disaster which befell the *Morro Castle*, a New York evening paper carried a whole column



interview with a Pathe cameraman who was one of the first to reach the scene. Unfortunately the news rewrite man who put his venture into print failed to state that the cameraman had gone to the scene by airplane. In the lead of the news story, the camera fellow is just there looking down at the whole tragic scene, an unconscious statement of the strange ubiquitousness of the newsreel man which is, nevertheless, often typical of these workers and which may become more so in the war ahead. But despite this great effort to overcome this time-place handicap, to abolish the phony and the false, a whole new flood of handicaps washed through the work rooms of the newsreel companies with the advent of sound.

The advent of sound a few years ago vastly complicated the entire motion picture business and with it the newsreels.

The old silent newsreel was all picture, each subject with an introductory title and two or three sub-titles—usually poisonous in their construction—the effort of a would-be author to become articulate. The sound newsreel subject is a combination of picture and sound with, usually, only the introductory title—still frequently poisonously cute.

It is safe to say that most of the newsreel pictures you see are not made in sound cameras. That is, the sound which accompanies them is not the actual sound you would have heard had you been present at the event. Sound equipment is cumbersome and very expensive. It requires a crew of two men instead of just a cameraman; and its transportation is an added expense and problem. One newsreel successfully operates with but two sound cameras. Practically the only honest natural sound you hear in this reel is the occasional speaker included in the release.

The success of the nearly "soundless" newsreel has had its effect on the entire business. First, the newsreels are becoming more and more expert at faking sound into silent pictures. Several outfits of sound equipment, purchased in the mad scramble when sound pictures came in, have been retired and gather dust in garages around the country. More and more the newsreels have been reducing the overhead by reverting to silent camera coverage with the sound "dubbed" in later in the studios.

A football game will serve as an excellent example of the bag of tricks which the newsreel editor has at his disposal. The game may have been covered by a silent or a sound camera. Time enters into the situation here. One of the newsreels shoots its football games almost invariably with sound cameras. An offstage commentator is sent to the game and he describes the play right along with the taking of the pictures. This enables the editors to save the three or four hours time which it takes to dub on the sound and offstage comment in the studio. Monday is a very busy day in the make-up laboratory of a newsreel. A great many stories are covered and a great deal of film shot over the weekend. The editors are practically swamped with it on Monday mornings. If the time of dubbing or synchronizing the story can be saved, there is a chance that the Monday issue of the newsreel

can be finished—ready for release—at a decent hour.

On the other hand the football game is one of the easiest stories to dub or synchronize. About the only sound you would hear other than the comment of the offstage voice is the rising and falling of the crowd's roar. All newsreels have recordings of this typical noise. They just dub it on the silent picture, raising the volume when the play is particularly exciting. Easy?

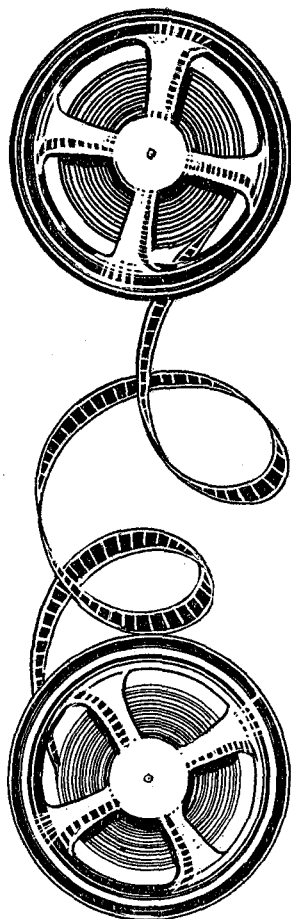
Last year when Bernard Shaw arrived in the United States on a world cruise the newsreels sent their men down to the boat to get him to say something. Mr. Shaw was diffident, not to say temperamental. He wouldn't cooperate at all. He wouldn't talk. He just wouldn't do anything. Back in the studio with only some scanty shots of the

great Shaw backing and cavorting about the deck, one of the reels dubbed on some very interesting sound. Several of the boys in the studio contributed a running chatter of informal comment. Such shouts as, "Mr. Shaw, can't you stand still a minute!", "Will you stop moving around and let us get a picture!" etc., etc., were heard through a general babble of voices. The critic for one of the leading trade publications in the amusement field was completely fooled and congratulated the cameraman for that particular newsreel for letting his camera run and picking up the informal comments of the exasperated reporters and photographers. All the sound was actually faked in the studio!

It is only fair to say that most of the sound you hear that *is* faked is taken from recordings of the approximate sound you would hear. That is, the roar of the football crowd is the recording of an actual football crowd. The only thing is that the crowd yelling in the picture of the Yale-Harvard game is quite likely to be the sound from the N.Y.U.-Oregon game of the year or two years before! The faked sound of cars in an automobile race is the actual sound made by racing cars, but it is not the sound made by the racing cars you're looking at.

A well-equipped newsreel studio has several hundreds of records which will permit it to give a fair imitation of almost any sound. These records are just like any phonograph record and the sound is transferred electrically to the film. Of course, there are occasions where the studio hasn't the necessary "canned" sound effect, and in this event strategy is resorted to. It is only fair to warn you that sometimes when you hear pigs grunting in a farm picture, you are actually hearing a record of lions roaring. The record is speeded up on its turntable, changing the pitch and slowing the sound until it is at least a fair imitation of the panting porkers.

Sound pictures opened a wide opportunity for all sorts of trickery. That trickery is not more often resorted to in the newsreels is a tribute to the honesty of the editors. They can and do still play hob with the remarks of speakers because they can change the entire meaning of a paragraph or sentence by cutting great sections out of the film—or even small sections. You have frequently seen speakers



apparently twitch or "jump" on the screen. When this occurs you can be sure that some part of the speaker's remarks have been deleted, usually because the speaker has raved on and on, and the newsreel can't under ordinary circumstances give him more than a minute or two of screen time. The sound goes right along with the picture and when part of the speech has to go, part of the picture of the speaker has to go with it.

Concerning the offstage explanatory voice there are several schools of alleged thought. None of them is very pleasing to the listener who has any pretense to learning or background. There is the newsreel employing one of radio's best known announcers. This newsreel plasters the announcer's voice all over the theatre. He scarcely stops for breath, and too frequently he leans heavily on the threadbare pun followed by a self-deprecating "Oh-oh!" Then he goes on to a worse one. Being a radio announcer he allows himself either to anticipate the action in a sport event or to fall behind the action. That is, the eye impression registers and then later, along comes the comment pertaining to it.

Another of the newsreels employs, or did until recently, a sort of declaiming thrush who lilts through his comment, sliding up and down the diatonic scale at least an octave. His cheery little melody never varies whether he describes a train wreck in which 100 people are killed or a baby parade at Asbury Park.

Two of the other reels use commentators too dull to leave any very definite impression, which is probably the best idea. After all, honestly handled and released, the pictures, plus the natural, or even the faked, sound, should tell the story with a minimum of offstage comment.

The fifth newsreel uses a variety of voices. Its editors strive to have a different voice for each picture in the release or at least not the same voice on two successive stories. The recording quality of some of the voices so used has been pretty foul, but the effort to create the impression of on-the-scene comment has been partially successful. This newsreel, too, does more honest on-the-scene sound and voice jobs, eliminating both dubbed sound and voice, than any of the others. How much, if any, of the worst of these practices will be changed in the war ahead remains to be seen.

In assembling the newsreel as a whole, the editors do try to give their product tempo. Taking the available stories for the current issue they try to arrange them in an order which will give pace. For instance, if there are two speeches, they will be separated in the newsreel. The *feeling* of stories is important. Hence a picture of a train wreck would not be placed in the reel near a picture of an earthquake or that of the funeral of a public figure. Sometimes this great desire for pacing, variety, tempo, call it what you will, weakens the newsreel. There have been instances of good stories being left out and mediocre ones used because all the good ones just didn't "fit" together. This, of course, is stupid. The newsreel

should attempt an interesting arrangement of its subjects, but this should be secondary. The goal of the newsreel should be, and ultimately will have to be, the presentation of the news whatever the news may be. That will be a new kind of newsreel, a possible result of the new phase which is now beginning.

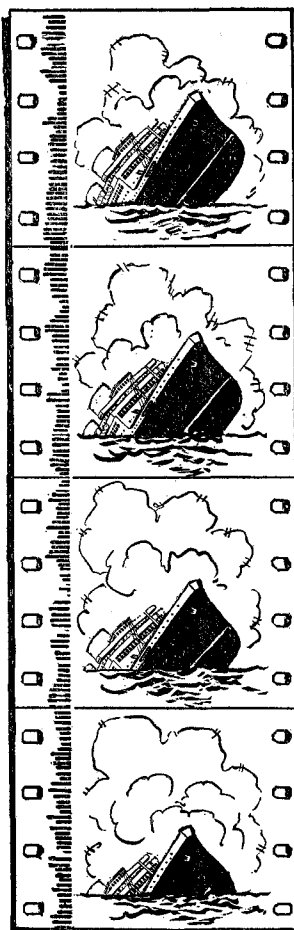
What to do about censorship is another question which must be answered in the dawning day of revived competition. There is no actual, formal censorship of the newsreel. No board views each newsreel issued and says what may or may not be shown. But there is a very definite two-fold censorship of newsreels—from within and from without.

Oddly enough, the censorship from within is by far the more devastating. First, of course, there are the eliminations dictated by good taste—the same self-censorship imposed by the better newspapers. But this is just a beginning. From there the newsreel powers bejuggle editorial integrity and use or eliminate scenes or entire subjects because of prejudice which is politely cloaked in the nicer word, "policy."

The outstanding example of this *policy* censorship during the past year or more has been the handling of news from Germany. In the case of one newsreel, orders came from the Olympian heights of company presidential and vice-presidential swivel chairs that no news from Germany whatever was to be used in the newsreel unless it was revolution against the Hitler regime. This applied not only to news of a political nature but of any nature at all. The restraining order followed close upon the heels of one of the greatest news pictures ever made—the actual burning of books by the students of a Berlin university. Personal feeling and prejudice aside, viewed cold-bloodedly from a standpoint of news, it was a story which will live forever in the mind of everyone who saw it. Hobgoblins dancing about in the distorting light of a huge bonfire. Dancing and singing and tossing to the licking flames the fluttering pages of world classics.

One shivered as one would shiver at a carnival in hell. An appalling dervish lifted out of the perverted activity of the dark ages! And yet this picture was practically the swan song of German news as far as the newsreel is concerned. "We won't publicize Hitler or Hitler's Germany," was the last word of those who controlled that particular newsreel.

For months this same newsreel had tried to get into one of Germany's famed concentration camps for political prisoners. Then Germany let them in on the occasion of Christmas pardons for several hundred of those confined. A really fine newsreel story was secured *inside* a concentration camp and even though it revealed that only a small percentage of the prisoners were Jewish—that the vast majority were gentile communists and agitators—there was a great cry against using it because it showed Hitler in a favorable light in that the story dealt with the release of prisoners. Editorial integrity! The picture was used and immediately after its release the peremptory



no - pictures - at - all - from - Germany order went through.

It is interesting to note, however, that where there was a picture of a non-political nature from Germany—one that revealed no brown-shirted storm troopers, no swastika—it sometimes got into this newsreel *datelined* in Denmark or some unimpressive little European principality. Editorial integrity!

Outside censorship is much less devastating. For a long time Boston would not permit the showing of wrestling or riot pictures. For some months now the newsreels have, with joined forces, been fighting censorship from Chicago's city government which placed a strict ban on all riot pictures. This situation has been partially adjusted.

It seemed incredible that the French Government, from Paris, France, could dictate the newsreel fare of the people of Paris, Ill., or Phoenix, Ariz. But it can be done! Cameramen risked life and limb to photograph the action in the French riots in the *Place de la Concorde* and elsewhere early this year. Frantically, but too late, the French Government forbade the export of these films. At least one newsreel had already shipped them over to England before the restraining order. Before the pictures could be released in England or re-shipped to the United States the London company head received a frantic wire from his Paris colleague pleading that the film be destroyed immediately lest he languish indefinitely in an unattractive French jail. The gentleman had the opportunity to join the heroes' host and say, "Jail and be damned!" but he was not of the stuff of heroes. The answer lies in the fact that France could ban the company's entire product, features, short subjects and newsreel, from the country. Ultimately pictures of the French riots *were* released by the newsreels but they were carefully censored. No shots of the actual attack on police and troops were permitted to be shown.

For many years crime in any form was taboo in the newsreel. Newsreel editors calmly ignored it. Here again they met the ever-present conflict between news and entertainment, a conflict which seems certain of definite settlement in the period of unrestricted competition immediately ahead. The first motion picture ever made was of Edison's laboratory assistants and it revealed him in his own words, "making monkey shines before the camera." The motion picture was born in slap-stick. The motion picture remained largely slap-stick because it is the common denominator of human interest, for a depressingly long time. Entertainment values change slowly. New departure in newsreel technique is even slower.

Some time ago the newsreel began to let its audience in on *nice* crime. Your crime reports, if you got them via the screen, were carefully sifted and even more carefully presented. It dealt with such prosaic events as the dereliction of a cabinet officer or the clean-cut embezzlement of funds. Gradually it progressed, still skirting mincingly the edge of crime that had more human interest.

Raids on particularly big stills during the prohibition era were filmed and released, but these, too, came under

the heading of *nice* crime. Latterly most of the nation scarcely recognized bootlegging as a crime anyway.

Along came Two-Gun Crowley and the famous concentration of police in West 90th Street, Manhattan, for his capture. Tear gas, machine guns—action! With an advance tip the newsreels couldn't ignore it. The Lindbergh kidnaping case opened up a new field. The newsreel crime story began to have human interest. Kidnaping followed kidnaping. There were captures. Huge sums of money were demanded and paid. The news screamed from the front pages of newspapers all over the country. The newsreels let down the bars a bit and took kidnapings in.

Then there began a sort of seepage. Dodging unpleasant detail, there appeared short, two-or-three-scene reviews of crimes more violent or touching on previously forbidden subjects. The occasional few shots of a woman on trial for murder. These were confined to pictures of her entering or leaving the courthouse and made no pretense of complete coverage of the news story. Then lynchings became more or less general. A delicate matter. But the audience had been fed its appetizers of kidnapings and other "not-so-nice" crime stories. The newsreels went into

the matter of lynchings. One newsreel fished \$30,000 worth of its sound equipment out of a Maryland river as a result of its interest in a Maryland lynching. The burghers had resented publicity and had pushed the sound truck into the water to make clear their resentment.

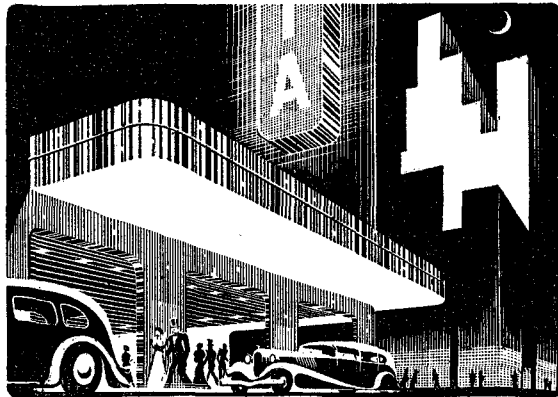
But the lid, if it wasn't off, was definitely askew. Audiences *were* interested in crime. The *didn't* get up and leave the theatre. They *wanted* to see the places where crimes about which they had read had been

committed and pictures of those suspected of having committed them.

The trail of Dillinger through the Middle West, following his escape from jail at Crown Point, Ind., was never cold before newsreel sound trucks and cameramen appeared. He led them just as merry a chase as he led the exasperated Federal and state officials. And at each of his stopping places, he left the makings of a newsreel crime story.

The world-famous Scottsboro Case resolved around an alleged sex crime. The newsreels couldn't hurdle this—at first. But as the months dragged on the case took on a secondary significance. Its original value became buried under a welter of widely radiating opinion. It became a *cause*. It ceased to come under the classification "crime" and was moved over under the classification of "social problem." Even then it bit deep into controversy-prejudice. The newsreel dallied with it behind the scenes. It was outlined for coverage. Possible angles of approach and handling were discussed and discarded. Ultimately it was released with the emphasis off the original crime. It was valued—and properly—as a social problem. And it has definitely opened the door for newsreel recognition of other social problems.

So the scope of the newsreel is gradually broadening with the news consciousness—the broad-mindedness of the



public. These are the only considerations that can continue the newsreel on the path of important progress.

Because it is impossible in advance to measure accurately how bitter or how acute the competitive spirit may become in the approaching newsreel war, it is difficult to predict if the "bought story" leading to the "stolen story" will play a return engagement on the American newsreel screen. Possibly it may; but even if it is a closed chapter, it is one worth reviewing briefly.

Stolen stories are, on the whole, a lost art in this country, beyond the few stolen "candid camera" shots of camera-shy notables. Time was when exclusive motion picture rights to news events—usually sport subjects—were sold to one particular company for a financial consideration, which frequently was considerable. The competing newsreels frequently set about to "steal" the pictures. Not the actual pictures made by the buying company but to take their own pictures surreptitiously. This led to no end of fun and, not infrequently, to a few broken heads. Subterfuge and force were nicely blended, usually with more or less satisfactory results. Mostly, everybody got pictures of varying degrees of importance. This had much to do with the wane of the bought pictures, while their stealing was terminated, through certain court actions. Abroad it is still indulged in. Some company usually buys the rights to the big horse races, soccer and rugby games, and the cameramen of the other companies promptly disguise themselves as fish peddlers, peanut salesmen, bearers of oats or liniment and everybody releases pictures of the "exclusive" event. The buying company has the small pleasure of prefacing its release with "Official Pictures," but the victory, more often than not, is a Pyrrhic one.

In the days, forty years ago when the motion picture was born and reached the eye through Edison's Kinetoscope peep show, the prizefight was one of the first things a wondering public viewed. The motion picture prizefight has had a tumultuous history since that early day. So hectic, in fact, that Federal legislation illegalizing their transportation in inter-state commerce has virtually eliminated them as a commercial venture, though outlaw concerns still buy the rights to the big fights and certain of the lesser exhibitors connive in releasing them. The profit, however, is small.

The law which virtually ended the prizefight picture was on the statute books when Jack Dempsey stepped through the ropes at Shelby, Mont., to settle with Tom Gibbons the question of heavyweight supremacy back in 1923. You may recall that the Dempsey-Gibbons fight was the pride and joy of the Shelby Chamber of Commerce and that the little Montana cow town lost a considerable number of dollars in its attempt to be a sort of municipal

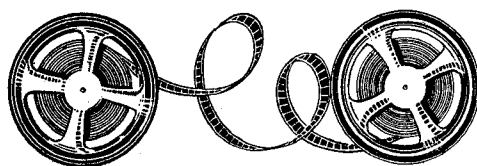
promoter. The lads out there were a hardy breed and despite the fact that they had difficulty raising Mr. Dempsey's guaranty, Mr. Dempsey thought it wise to go through with his end of the bargain. He did so under the blazing rays of a July sun and less closely, perhaps, under the menacing muzzles of efficient six shooters.

In those days newsreels were interested in prizefights. They couldn't use the actual fighting, but they could cover the fight by showing the locale, the colorful crowds, the principals, the raising of the hand after the decision, or the prone figure after the knock-out—everything in fact, right up to and immediately following the blows struck.

One of the reels had bought the exclusive motion picture rights from the financially harassed Shelby promoters. Due to the fact that the promoters were the entire town, everyone from the mayor and sheriff right on down had a peculiar interest in the Dempsey-Gibbons imbroglio and all financial matters appertaining thereto. In addition Shelby was prepared to protect its rights in the quaintly informal tradition of the West. It looked as though the pictures were going to be hard to steal. One company did it by the ponderous expedient of smuggling in camera and cameraman in a huge lemonade barrel! The crowning insult was that the "thieves" got their pictures out and on the screen long before the company which had paid for the rights.

One of the last "bought pictures" in this country was of the famous Zev vs. Papyrus horse race at Belmont Park, also in 1923. It was about the last big effort. And though herculean not altogether successful. An army of private detectives was thrown around the park to keep competing companies away. This was hot incentive for the competing companies. Those few who did filter through the guard were annoyed by gentlemen employed to reflect the sun's rays into their camera lenses by means of large mirrors. An airplane smoke screen was actually laid during the race to keep the unlicensed competition from making pictures. But the other reels released pictures of the event just the same.

It remains a thing wholly within the sphere of prophecy as to whether the new force of competition which is just now beginning to re-enter the arena of the newsreel will bring back the exclusively paid for story and the attendant practices of the opposition companies. It should produce a newsier, a more exciting, show. It may be even more "dishonest" in its make-up. It may, for a while at least, let down all the bars of self-imposed censorship. It may improve the work of the dubbed in commentator. If it does but a few of these things there may be a more unanimous and enthusiastic response to the suggestion, "Let's wait for the newsreel."



Men of Space

Is the rocket the Space Ship of tomorrow? This New Outlook group-personalgraph examines the scientists around the world who believe it is and who are at work today on the task of conquering interstellar space.

THIS insignificant sphere of rock and magma which we call the Earth is at present both the home of man and his prison. His airplanes have risen six miles or so above its surface, his stratosphere balloons, twelve miles. Free unmanned balloons have touched heights of twenty-two miles, no more.

Compared with the vastness of space, this is nothing. The whole thickness of the Earth's atmosphere is less proportionately than that of the skin of an apple. The nearest celestial body, the moon, swings around the Earth at an average distance of 240,000 miles—a space-filled gap equal to thirty times the diameter of the earth. The nearest planet, Venus, is distant from the earth about 160 million miles; the next nearest, Mars, 240 million.

Between our own and these other planets (on both of which life might be possible) there is nothing to impede the progress of a space traveler; no air at least, though there probably are swarms of meteors. If once a space ship, setting out from Earth, were to get up sufficient speed to outfly our planet's gravity (about 6.664 miles a second), it could continue to shoot through space on its own momentum, without meeting further resistance until it reached either the moon, Venus, or Mars, depending on the aim.

Now most of the population of the Earth seems to be content to remain on solid ground, prison or no, and despite the attractive possibility of colonizing other planets. But a growing group of theorists and experimenters now at work on the various preliminary phases of space flight are not so content. The conquest of space is a real and important goal to them, and let no man who reads the signs of our times be so foolhardy as to predict that they will not reach it.

The device counted upon to make space flight possible is the rocket—giant cousin of the familiar Fourth of July firework, but fueled with explosive liquids a hundred-fold more powerful, equipped with a metal body and provided with parachute, wings and other devices to make for directable flight and a safe and easy landing, either on the Earth or on such other bodies as may be achieved.

Experiments with the forerunners of such ships of space are now going on actively in the United States, Germany, France, Austria and Russia. There are two important societies of rocket experimenters in the United States, one a national organization. These are the American Rocket

by Ugo Andres

Society (formerly the American Interplanetary Society), with headquarters in New York, and the Cleveland Rocket Society. Two or three lesser organizations also are active here in a smaller way. In Germany an organization which goes by the difficult name of E. V. Fortschrittliche Verkehrstechnik has among its members most of the active rocket experimenters of Europe. In Austria a rocket society dominated by the mathematician and engineer, Guido Baron von Pirquet, is making valuable contributions. France has its rocket enthusiasts, including the airplane-builder, Robert Esnault-Pelterie, and the banker, André Hirsch. In Russia rocket experiments are encouraged by the government, and at least one important engineer is engaged in this work. Great Britain has recently joined the race through the organization of a group called the British Interplanetary Society, with headquarters at Wallasey, Cheshire.

The Germans have received much publicity in connection with rockets since about 1925. They have built rocket-cars, rocket-sleds, rocket-planes and other rocket-equipped devices.

But the Germans did not originate the present era of scientific work on rockets; it was an American professor of physics, Dr. Robert H. Goddard. Moreover, the most active developmental work in rockets today is going on, not in Germany, or Russia, or France, but in America.

For the most part the early German rocket-vehicles, made by fastening large gunpowder-fueled skyrockets to old automobile chasses, gliders, or toboggans, were primarily publicity stunts. The experiments consisted of lighting the fuse and letting her rip. The result was a great deal of smoke, some excellent shots for the American roto-gravure sections of the Sunday press, noise and a sudden spurt on the part of the vehicle, usually ending dismally in an overturn, or an explosion.

Even while they were gravely making high-sounding pronouncements about these contraptions, the German engineers were aware that such experiments are wasteful and useless. Previously, in 1919, the Smithsonian Institution at Washington had printed the first scientific study ever made of rockets—a fine piece of work by Dr. Goddard, which showed conclusively that rocket-cars, planes and such are out of the question, for the simple reason that a rocket is not efficient unless it is moving forward at about the speed of the ejected gases—a velocity somewhere in the neighborhood of a mile a second.

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No vehicle for use on the surface of the earth or in the denser part of the atmosphere can ever hope to make such speed without destruction; hence rocket planes in the stratosphere and beyond—that is a different matter. But in the rocket can make the speed required of it; moreover it is the only efficient fuel-burning device adapted to such or auxiliary sources of oxygen and even so is of little use. But the rocket can propel itself even in empty space. The research published by the Smithsonian Institution proved in fact that in space it will be more efficient than in the atmosphere.

Rockets powered with powder explosives yield too little energy for their weight, cannot be controlled and have other drawbacks. The true answer to the fuel problem, in the opinion of most experimenters, is to be found in the utilization of liquid explosives, which can be fed steadily into a combustion chamber and modulated in flow to suit the needs of the craft. The great strides in rocket development in the last three or four years have been in finding satisfactory liquid fuels and in harnessing them for use in metal rockets which can be shot, landed, recovered, refilled with fuel and shot again. It is a popular notion that there are no fuels capable of carrying a rocket to the moon or to planets. The fact is that any one of several possible combinations, including liquid oxygen and liquid hydrogen, liquid oxygen and liquid acetylene, and possibly even liquid oxygen and gasoline, would do it in an efficient and properly constructed rocket.

The latter combination—liquid oxygen and gasoline—is that most often used by experimenters with small rockets, since it involves the use of only one troublesome material—the oxygen. Liquid oxygen is made by compressing and chilling air until it liquefies, then distilling off the nitrogen and other gases. It is a beautiful, bluish, magnetic fluid which boils at the unpleasantly low temperature of -183°C , and evaporates furiously when heated to the freezing point of alcohol. Shutting up a supply of liquid oxygen in a tank without a safety valve is equivalent to placing a closed tank of water in an electric furnace. The liquid is vaporized with great rapidity. Expanding to more than 800 times its liquid volume, it exerts a pressure capable of bursting nearly any container with explosive violence.

A mixture of liquid oxygen and gasoline is a detonator about ten times as powerful as TNT. Yet ways have been found to transmit a portion of this furious energy to the rocket, sending it forward at continuously accelerated velocity until the fuel has all been burned. The rocket is a very simple device. Though experimenters are fond of calling its combustion chamber and

ROBERT H. GODDARD

(Director, physics laboratory, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.). The present world-wide wave of rocket experiment owes its inception to the early research of this fifty-two-year-old physicist, and if a Space Ship ever does reach the moon, the first landing field established there ought to be named Goddard Spaceport. As early as 1909, when talk of space flight was too violent to be considered seriously, he

nozzle a "motor," there are no fuels are mingled explosively in this the liberation of quantities of hot gas under discharge takes place toward the rear of the recoil driving the apparatus forward according to well defined laws of thermodynamics. Contrary to popular notion, the rocket needs no air to push against; it does better when there is nothing about to impede its progress.

The progress of rocket development, as most experimenters picture it, will be about as follows: It will be necessary first to build rockets which can be shot straight up for 100 miles or so, bearing instruments. The next step will be to rig up control devices permitting shots from New York to Paris, or San Francisco to Tokyo. Such flights, taking place at the rate of nearly a mile a second, will bring Europe to within about two hours of the United States, and make it possible to commute between New York and Chicago in about twenty minutes, allowing time for launching and landing at lower speeds.

An attempt to leave the earth entirely will probably not be made until these easier tricks have been mastered. Rocket experimenters say that transatlantic rockets will be possible in about ten years if some angel should decide to invest a million or so in it. If that occurs, some of now living may still be around to see shots at the moon. These probably will be made first with unmanned, automatic rockets. The first dozen shots or so would be of five times, as evidenced by the magnesium flash off by impact and detected through telescopes, it considered a safe enough gamble to send out scientists, with a surplus of fuel to bring them back.

There is apparently no theoretical reason why ultimately cannot liberate us from the earth. Experimenters back at present seem to be largely development; the rocket must go through of experiment, of trial and error, through mentally new contrivances have passed about where aviation was when Langle The Kitty Hawk of the Rocket machine one of a dozen rocket proving grounds and Europe today; the Wrights of the members of one of the six or seven now in existence, and the dramatic sphere which will electrify the world it with his balloon may occur now ing, or even this coming spring. The future Great Man of the following are well worth keeping

began simple tests with rockets to determine the scientific principles upon which they operate. After the war he was enabled to carry on this work on a somewhat more elaborate scale at Clark University by a small grant from the Smithsonian Institution. It speaks well for the facts already gathered that he could interest that august institution in the proposition at all; yet in fact it gave him a total of more than \$12,000 over a period of action and development.

...German, and soon announcements began to be sent from abroad that this or that inventor had discovered the utility of the rocket.

Paying little attention to these attempts to steal his show, Goddard continued to work quietly in his laboratory, and on the afternoon of July 17, 1929, he secretly shot a liquid fuel rocket—the world's first—at a military proving ground near Worcester. The shot was a noisy one and quite upset the countryside. Citizens called the police and fire departments to report that an airplane had crashed or a bomb had been set off. An ambulance arrived at the rocket field in time to see remnants of his rocket, which had gone up two or three hundred feet and there exploded.

Shortly afterward Goddard succeeded in attracting the attention of Guggenheims to his work, and the Simon Guggenheim reportedly gave him a fund of \$100,000 for the duration of his efforts. Under the committee which included Charles A. Lindbergh, Dr. John Charles F. Marvin of the Carnegie Observatorium, John A. G. Abbot, Dr. Walter S. Adams of the Astrophysical Observatory, Henry Breckinridge, Charles G. Abbot, and the Smithsonian Institution.

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No vehicle for use on the surface of the earth or in the denser part of the atmosphere can ever hope to make such speed without destruction; hence rocket planes in the ordinary sense are probably impossible. But in the stratosphere and beyond—that is a different matter. There the rocket can make the speed required of it; moreover it is the only efficient fuel-burning device adapted to such a medium. The gasoline engine must have its superchargers or auxiliary sources of oxygen and even so is of little use. But the rocket can propel itself even in empty space. The research published by the Smithsonian Institution proved in fact that in space it will be more efficient than in the atmosphere.

Rockets powered with powder explosives yield too little energy for their weight, cannot be controlled and have other drawbacks. The true answer to the fuel problem, in the opinion of most experimenters, is to be found in the utilization of liquid explosives, which can be fed steadily into a combustion chamber and modulated in flow to suit the needs of the craft. The great strides in rocket development in the last three or four years have been in finding satisfactory liquid fuels and in harnessing them for use in metal rockets which can be shot, landed, recovered, refilled with fuel and shot again. It is a popular notion that there are no fuels capable of carrying a rocket to the moon or to planets. The fact is that any one of several possible combinations, including liquid oxygen and liquid hydrogen, liquid oxygen and liquid acetylene, and possibly even liquid oxygen and gasoline, would do it in an efficient and properly constructed rocket.

The latter combination—liquid oxygen and gasoline—is that most often used by experimenters with small rockets, since it involves the use of only one troublesome material—the oxygen. Liquid oxygen is made by compressing and chilling air until it liquefies, then distilling off the nitrogen and other gases. It is a beautiful, bluish, magnetic fluid which boils at the unpleasantly low temperature of -183°C , and evaporates furiously when heated to the freezing point of alcohol. Shutting up a supply of liquid oxygen in a tank without a safety valve is equivalent to placing a closed tank of water in an electric furnace. The liquid is vaporized with great rapidity. Expanding to more than 800 times its liquid volume, it exerts a pressure capable of bursting nearly any container with explosive violence.

A mixture of liquid oxygen and gasoline is a detonator about ten times as powerful as TNT. Yet ways have been found to transmit a portion of this furious energy to the rocket, sending it forward at continuously accelerated velocity until the fuel has all been burned.

The rocket is a very simple device. Though experimenters are fond of calling its combustion chamber and

nozzle a “motor,” there are actually no moving parts. The fuels are mingled explosively in this chamber, resulting in the liberation of quantities of hot gas *under pressure*. The discharge takes place toward the rear of the rocket, the recoil driving the apparatus forward according to well-defined laws of thermodynamics. Contrary to popular notion, the rocket needs no air to push against; it does better when there is nothing about to impede its progress.

The progress of rocket development, as most experimenters picture it, will be about as follows: It will be necessary first to build rockets which can be shot straight up for 100 miles or so, bearing instruments. The next step will be to rig up control devices permitting shots from one point to another through the stratosphere, say from New York to Paris, or San Francisco to Tokyo. Such flights, taking place at the rate of nearly a mile a second, will bring Europe to within about two hours of the United States, and make it possible to commute between New York and Chicago in about twenty minutes, allowing time for launching and landing at lower speeds.

An attempt to leave the earth entirely will probably not be made until these easier tricks have been mastered. Rocket experimenters say that transatlantic rockets will be possible in about ten years if experimentation continues at its present rate; even sooner if some angel should decide to invest a million or so in it. If that occurs, some of us now living may still be around to see shots at the moon. These probably will be made first with unmanned, automatic rockets. The first dozen shots or so would be in the nature of target practice; if the moon could be hit four out of five times, as evidenced by the magnesium flares set off by impact and detected through telescopes, it might be considered a safe enough gamble to send out a body of scientists, with a surplus of fuel to bring them back again.

There is apparently no theoretical reason why the rocket ultimately cannot liberate us from the earth. What holds experimenters back at present seems to be lack of practical development; the rocket must go through the long process of experiment, of trial and error, through which all fundamentally new contrivances have passed. “Rocketry” is about where aviation was when Langley tried to fly.

The Kitty Hawk of the Rocket may in fact be at any one of a dozen rocket proving grounds located in America and Europe today; the Wrights of the Rocket are probably members of one of the six or seven active rocket societies now in existence, and the dramatic shot into the stratosphere which will electrify the world as Piccard electrified it with his balloon may occur next year, the year following, or even this coming spring.

The future Great Man of Rockets may, or may not, be among the best known experimenters of today, but the following are well worth keeping an eye on:

ROBERT H. GODDARD

(Director, physics laboratory, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.). The present world-wide wave of rocket experiment owes its inception to the early research of this fifty-two-year-old physicist, and if a Space Ship ever does reach the moon, the first landing field established there ought to be named Goddard Spaceport. As early as 1909, when talk of space flight was too visionary to be considered seriously, he

began simple tests with rockets to determine the scientific principles upon which they operate.

After the war he was enabled to carry on this work on a somewhat more elaborate scale at Clark University by a small grant from the Smithsonian Institution. It speaks well for the facts already gathered that he could interest that august institution in the proposition at all; yet in fact it gave him a total of more than \$12,000 over

a period of years to make his rockets and shoot them, measuring their reaction, their time of burning, their behavior in air and vacuum, the energy derived from various suitable fuels and other fundamental matters.

His report, the first scientific study of rockets ever published, appeared in 1919 under the imprint of the Smithsonian Institution, bearing the unexciting title of “*A Method of Reaching Extreme Altitudes*.” It caused no im-

mediate sensation on this side of the Atlantic, but was quickly translated into French and German, and soon thereafter announcements began to be sent from abroad that this or that inventor had discovered the utility of the rocket.

Paying little attention to these attempts to steal his show, Goddard continued to work quietly in his laboratory, and on the afternoon of July 17, 1929, he secretly shot a liquid fuel rocket—the world's first—at a military proving ground near Worcester. The shot was a noisy one and quite upset the countryside. Citizens called the police and fire departments to report that an airplane had crashed or a bomb had been set off. An ambulance arrived at the rocket field in time to see a middle-aged scientist examining the remnants of his rocket, which had gone up two or three hundred feet and there exploded.

Shortly afterward Goddard succeeded in attracting the attention of the Guggenheims to his work, and the late Simon Guggenheim purportedly gave him a fund of \$100,000 for the continuation of his efforts. Under the grant Goddard was to work with an advisory committee which included Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, Dr. John C. Merriam, president of the Carnegie Institution, Charles F. Marvin of the Weather Bureau, Dr. Robert A. Millikan of the California Institute of Technology, Dr. Walter S. Adams of Mount Wilson Observatory, John A. Flemming, acting director of the department of terrestrial magnetism of the Carnegie Institution, Henry Breckenridge and Dr. Charles G. Abbot, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

He took a leave of absence from Clark University immediately and went to Mescalero Ranch, near Roswell, N. M., where he built and shot a number of small rockets designed primarily to test operation rather than to reach great heights. The tests were quite successful, and flight speeds in excess of 500 miles an hour were obtained. But before the importance of the new data could be demonstrated by a great shot of really dramatic proportions, the fund was suddenly and mysteriously withdrawn—Depression trouble, probably—and Goddard was forced to move back into his laboratory at Worcester, there to continue, as well as he could, on his own resources.

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rockets and adding to the safety of operation: preparatory work which will be of great importance when he comes to build the huge rocket toward which his research has been leading.

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vey of possible fuels. He also brought his mathematical genius to bear upon theoretical matters relating to space flight and figured out complete navigational data for flights to the moon and planets, with methods for landing and taking off, instruments to be used in space and space-course trajectories. This was all printed in his book, "*L'Astronautique*," bristling with mathematical formulæ. The work is a sort of bible for space-flight enthusiasts, who have taken a cue from his title and named their science *astronautics*, or "star-navigation." It is indeed an interesting work, and should be of the greatest use when—and if—astronautics becomes a practical instead of theoretical science.

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more than 1,000 members, a rocket proving field on the outskirts of Berlin and a full-time staff of six engineers and mechanics.

This society made the first important contributions to the construction of liquid-fuel rockets in Europe, and through information exchanges with the American society and Austrian and French experimenters, it became for a world-center of news and data on rocketry." Its experimental program was presided over by some of the best rocket engineers in Europe.

Ley is perhaps not so much of an experimenter as an organizer, though he contributed several fundamental ideas to the German liquid-fuel rockets, and always sits in on engineering conferences of his society. His first book was *"Fahrt ins Weltall"* (Trip Into Space), published when he was twenty-two; his second, *"Die Möglichkeit der Weltraumfahrt,"* a treatise on the possibility of space travel, was published in 1928. Since then he has been gathering material for a two-volume work on the history of rockets, going back to China and Greece, and carrying the story through the great days of the Italian fireworks-makers, the war rockets of William Congreve in Napoleon's times, and up to the present.

His second book, the *"Möglichkeit,"* is said to have inspired Thea von Harbou to write her novel, *"Frau im Mond"* (Girl in the Moon), which was later made into a movie by UFA and shown in this country under the title, "By Rocket to the Moon."

Ley is tall, good-looking, with a mop of black hair and an intellectual, serious face. His father is a business man of Berlin; his mother, the daughter of a governmental official.

G. EDWARD PENDRAY
(President, American Rocket Society). No. 1 man of rockets in America today, both because of his position as head of the national organization and because of his contributions to the engineering side of experimental rockets.

Pendray began his career as a designer of rockets with a visit to Europe, where he studied what was being done in Italy, France, England and Germany. Upon his return he convinced the officers of the American Interplanetary Society, of which he was one of the founders, of the necessity for an experimental program to be undertaken by the organization. He designed the first successful liquid-fuel motor used by the society, and with

another member, H. Franklin Pierce, designed the society's first liquid-fuel rocket.

He has been chairman of the society's experimental committee since 1931, and has initiated many of the experiments conducted by the group. He has been president of the society twice, in 1932 and 1934, and has been one of its moving spirits since it was organized, in 1930. His contributions to the design of American rockets include his motor, a system of injecting fuel into the combustion chamber without pumps, a type of "thrust augmentor" and a plan for a control mechanism for altitude rockets. He is a specialist in the intricate and sometimes dangerous business of handling liquid oxygen. The oxygen used in the society's experiments, which is specially prepared by the Air Reduction Company at its Jersey City plant, is charged into the rockets at the proving field with equipment especially devised by Pendray.

The primary aim of the rocket research program of the society is the development of a rocket capable of being shot vertically for 100 miles, equipped with meteorological instruments, cosmic-ray recorders, cameras and other apparatus. After this goal has been reached, according to announcements, the experimental committee will undertake the development of unmanned rockets capable of being shot accurately from one point to another, guided by automatic control devices and landed gently enough to make such projectiles practical in the transportation of fast mail and express. The next step probably will be larger terrestrial rockets which will be capable of carrying passengers.

Pendray believes that the next few years will see rockets brought to the point of usefulness. He foresees hourly vertical flights of controlled rockets from airports throughout the country, gathering scientific data for a "three-dimensional weather map," looking toward long-range weather forecasting. He expects that rockets will cross the ocean within the next decade or two, that within twenty-five years it may be possible for passengers to get about in them. As for flights to the moon or planets, he believes that such ventures will be possible ultimately. In his most recent book, *"Men, Mirrors and Stars,"* a popular work about astronomy and telescopes, he makes the prediction that observatories will be founded on the moon to take advantage

of the airlessness of that body, and also suggests that an observatory could be established profitably on the largest of the satellites of Jupiter, as well as on the planet Mars.

The American Rocket Society, like the German organization, is a world center of information about rockets and rocket experimenters. Pendray's correspondence is very large. He is acquainted with practically every important rocket experimenter in the world, either personally or by letter.

Thirty-three years old, he hails from Wyoming, has a reputation as a writer on scientific subjects and is science editor of the *"Literary Digest."*

HARRY BULL. When he was a junior at Syracuse University, Bull broke into the newspapers with a rocket-driven sled which he had constructed with the aid of his sister. Later he tried it out on the frozen surface of Lake Onondaga. Like the German rocket-sleds, it was propelled with powder-fuel rockets. It made a great noise and smoke and ran several hundred feet with terrific speed.

Bull subsequently joined the American Interplanetary Society, and became interested in liquid-fuel rockets. During his senior year at Syracuse he made the first fundamental series of tests on liquid-fuel rocket motors ever undertaken in this country. The tests were carried on ingeniously. To save expense, Bull devised a method by which motors of several dozen different shapes could be built up in segments, using only six or eight different interchangeable pieces. As a result of one of his discoveries, that a collar around the nozzle of the rocket gives it greater efficiency at slow speeds in air, the American Rocket Society is now building a rocket which will be equipped with such a device, called by rocket experimenters a "thrust augmentor."

Bull has built and fired a number of rockets near his home at Syracuse, N. Y., and recently completed a series of experiments designed to test the possibilities of various fuels, including carbon disulfide, alcohol, ether, carbon tetrachloride and methyl sulfide. One of his mixtures blew up the test apparatus and shot a piece of steel into his leg. The injury was not serious, however, and he is now out of the hospital, determined to continue. He has drawn plans for several types of control apparatus to guide a rocket in flight which will soon be tested out, and recently he completed and pub-

lished a small booklet for experimenters entitled "*How to Build and Run a Rocket Ship*."

He is now about twenty-four, an active member of the American Rocket Society and a contributor to its research. He is the son of the managing editor of the "*Syracuse Post-Standard*."

BERNARD SMITH. When the American Interplanetary Society's first experimental rocket lay in ruins following an accident, Smith was able to save most of the parts and to build a new one. It was shot successfully in the spring of 1932, off the coast of Staten Island, N. Y., the first public shot of a liquid-fuel rocket in this country. It went to a height of about 300 feet, at which point the oxygen tank burst, bringing the experiment to an untimely end.

On that occasion something went wrong with the turn-on apparatus at the beginning of the flight. The torch which fires the gasoline and oxygen had been ignited, but the valve could not be opened. Smith courageously climbed out of the bomb-proof dugout to which he had been assigned, fixed the apparatus and coolly pulled open the valve. It was a good thing for him that the bursting took place 300 feet up instead of on the ground.

Smith is a member of the experimental committee of the American Rocket Society. The society's large No. 3 rocket, soon to be shot, was chiefly designed by him, using a modified form of the Pendray motor.

When not building rockets, Smith builds boats. He has won nine races in New York and New Jersey waters with boats of his own construction.

JOHN SHESTA. This young Russian, a member of the experimental committee of the American Rocket Society, has turned his private shop in Brooklyn, N. Y., into a rocket laboratory. There he has constructed a large rocket for the society which was first shot on September 9 of this year, and made the most spectacular and successful shot so far obtained with a liquid fuel rocket. It flew more than a half mile, reaching a speed of nearly 750 miles an hour. It is now being improved for longer flights.

This rocket is an ingenious contrivance of radical design. The motor has four nozzles; the parachute is released at the height of the flight by a new method, and the fuels are carried in two long tanks that are hitched

tandem and placed behind the motor.

Shesta has been trained as an engineer both abroad and in this country, and is looked upon as a coming man in "rocketry."

LAURENCE MANNING. A former president and one of the founders of the American Interplanetary Society, Manning is now a member of the experimental committee of the American Rocket Society and editor of the society's official publication, "*As-tronautics*." In addition, with Shesta and two others, Carl Ahrens and Alfred Best, he helped design the organization's No. 4 experimental rocket.

Three years ago Manning made a detailed analysis of other possible methods of reaching the speed of liberation from the earth. He considered mathematically the possibility of using centrifugal motion, compressed air guns, cannon, a sling-shot contrivance operated by a huge falling weight and other ideas. These researches led him to the conclusion that the only possibility for interplanetary flight now feasible is the rocket, unless indeed somebody should invent a gravity screen such as suggested by H. G. Wells in his "*First Men in the Moon*."

Manning also worked with two young members of the society in studying the capacity of animals to withstand acceleration, the idea being to determine whether space-explorers could bear the terrific build-up of speed during the first few minutes of a moon-rocket's flight. They whirled mice and guinea pigs in centrifuges, and discovered that such creatures can live under accelerations eight or nine times that of gravity, or say 250 feet per second, which is a considerably higher acceleration than actually will be necessary. Methods were devised for applying this kind of research to monkeys next and finally to human volunteers, but the unlikelihood that such data will be immediately useful has brought the experiments temporarily to an end.

Manning's home at Great Kills, Staten Island, N. Y., is near the society's proving ground, and hence is a sort of headquarters for experimenters on the occasion of important shots. He manages to combine enthusiasm for rockets with love of music and a strong interest in horticulture. He is vice-president of the Kelsey Nursery Service, of New York, and in his spare time a successful writer of stories with a scientific background.

DR. H. H. SHELDON (*Head of the department of physics, Washington Square College, New York University*). This physicist can hardly be called a rocket shooter, perhaps, since his interest is rather in devising control apparatus for rockets than in building and firing them. He is an active member of the American Rocket Society, and has given considerable aid to the development of photo-control for altitude and distance. No rocket has been built large enough to require his apparatus as yet, but in a year or two the American Rocket Society expects to be ready for one capable of making twenty-five or fifty miles, at which time Dr. Sheldon's work will be extremely valuable.

H. FRANKLIN PIERCE. He was one of the pioneers of rocket building in this country, and with Pendray designed and constructed the first liquid-fuel rocket made for the American Society. An unfortunate accident partly destroyed the rocket after it had been tested successfully on the ground, and its design was changed considerably before it finally was shot.

Pierce was formerly a naval mechanic, and is clever with tools. He has contributed some ingenious kinks to rocket design, and recently, with Nathan Carver, another member of the society, he designed a rocket of quite radical and interesting type. It is as yet unbuilt, though Pierce and Carver expect to begin construction on it soon. Pierce has set up a small proving stand near his home in the Bronx, New York, and has a private shop where he does his work.

ERNEST LOEBELL (*Engineer of the Cleveland Rocket Society*). When the Verein für Raumschiffahrt was going full blast in Germany, several young mechanics were employed at its *Raketenflugplatz*, or rocket flying field. Among them was Loebell, who later came to this country to work in an automobile factory, suffered an injury and resumed his rocket experiments near Cleveland. There he succeeded in attracting the attention of Edward L. Hanna, who agreed to finance the experiments in connection with a society.

The Cleveland Rocket Society is the result, a promising young organization. Loebell is its chief engineer, and apparently does most of his work in secret to protect the patents. The aim of the organization is to build a rocket

capable of shooting out of the Earth's atmosphere, after a series of preliminary tests of the several parts of such a rocket. The work at present is concerned with motors, and Loebell has designed a fairly satisfactory water-cooled one about eighteen inches in length, capable of a thrust of several hundred pounds.

The Cleveland society has received considerable publicity. The members have uniforms, lapel-buttons, armbands and other Boy Scout paraphernalia. Despite these symptoms of youth and self-consciousness, rocket experimenters are expecting some important results from the organization's work. Loebell is a first-class man, and at present is probably more adequately financed than any other rocket experimenter in the country.

He is thirty-two and was born at Zwingenberg in Hessen-Darmstadt, Germany. He worked with his classmate, Johannes Winkler, at the University of Breslau studying the velocity, friction and expansion of various gases through different nozzles. In 1927 he took a post-graduate course at the University of Oldenburg, where he studied power engineering. During this time he also made experiments with combustion chambers of different shapes and various metals.

EDWARD L. HANNA. As angel for the Cleveland Rocket Society, Hanna has gone in for rockets in a big way. At a recent private dinner in New York that he gave for representatives of the American Rocket Society the motif was carried out even to the cake, which came to the table in the shape of a rocket.

It is reported that Hanna has set aside a trust fund of \$20,000 to provide for the ultimate burial of himself and his wife on the moon, provided they are unable to make the trip while they are alive. The trust fund, so the story goes, is to operate when and if the journey ever becomes possible, no matter how far in the future.

He is twenty-two, part owner of an advertising concern in Cleveland, and the grandson of Mark Hanna.

HERMANN OBERTH. Four or five years ago, Oberth was the greatest exponent of rocketry and astronautics in Europe. He had previously written several books on the subject, shot a number of small rockets and attracted a great deal of attention by his scientific discussions of the problem and

his plans for a large rocket, capable of making an altitude of twenty or thirty miles. In 1928 and 1929 he was director of experiments for the Verein für Raumschiffahrt.

When UFA undertook to film the story of Thea von Harbou's "*Frau im Mond*," Oberth was called upon to manage the technical end of the job. In return for his work, it was reported, the UFA company agreed to back the experimenter in the construction of a giant rocket, to be shot from an island in the Baltic.

As a matter of fact, Oberth's parts of the film were the only sections worth anything; the rest was silly, both in story and acting. When the American Interplanetary Society introduced the film in this country, all was cut out but the film version of the actual flight to the moon which Oberth had directed, and which was a remarkable exposition of the technical and psychological aspects of such a journey.

When the film was finished, something went wrong with the UFA financing arrangement. Oberth went to his island in the Baltic and worked for a time in silence. Several times the great rocket shot was scheduled, and on two occasions the German railroads arranged to run special excursion trains to the site. The government took action to see that suitable bombproofs had been constructed; newspapers sent correspondents. But nothing happened. Finally it came out that funds were not forthcoming to complete the rocket.

His inability to finish the great experiment apparently broke Oberth's spirit. Presently he returned to his native town, Mediasch, now in Rumania, where he is professor of physics in the high school. He has ceased his experiments. He was born in Mediasch, then in Hungaria, forty years ago. His most famous book is "*Die Rakete zu den Planetenräumen*" (The Rocket to Interplanetary Spaces), published in 1924, a profound and important work on the fundamental principles of rocket construction and interplanetary navigation.

RUDOLPH NEBEL. Oberth's assistant during the filming of the UFA movie, Nebel succeeded him as director of experiments for the Verein für Raumschiffahrt. With Ley's aid he organized the *Raketenflugplatz*, a rocket proving ground in a suburb of Berlin, and there for two years presided over a staff of five or six engineers

and mechanics in the construction and firing of liquid-fuel rockets.

Following the Hitler revolution, and the dissolution of the Verein, Nebel withdrew and organized his own group. He is a sound engineer, inclined to be dictatorial and hard-headed, but careful and conscientious. He entered rocketry by a curious route—he answered an advertisement put in a Berlin newspaper by Oberth for an assistant. When Oberth took him on he became interested in the experiments and presently began making them on his own account. He designed the well-known *Mirak* series of liquid-fuel rockets constructed at the *Raketenflugplatz*. These were handsome rockets but for one reason or another did not perform successfully.

KLAUS RIEDEL. While Nebel was hard at work at the *Raketenflugplatz* designing his *Miraks*, Riedel, his 17-year-old assistant, one day took a small motor, fastened it to two tube-like tanks and set it off. To his surprise the thing flew.

Thereafter he built a series of these crude but interesting small rockets, which he called *Repulsors*. They were fueled with gasoline and liquid oxygen, carried a tiny parachute for landing and had small metal fins to guide them. Unfortunately they were very unstable in flight, and seldom landed where aimed. One flew clear out of the proving ground and set fire to a police booth—an incident which came near putting an end to the experiments. Riedel claimed that one of his *Repulsors* reached an altitude of a kilometer (about two-thirds of a mile).

He is now continuing his experiments with Nebel, with whom he joined fortunes after the dissolution of the Verein.

JOHANNES WINKLER. This German mathematician and physicist shot a liquid-fuel rocket in 1931, probably the first European to do so. It was not a very successful experiment, for the rocket was quite unstable in flight, but it was sufficient to launch the important series of liquid-fuel experiments of the Verein für Raumschiffahrt, of which he was one of the founders.

Two years ago he tried a shot with an even larger rocket, near Pillau, on the Baltic. It was charged with methane gas and liquid oxygen, and exploded violently when ignited. Despite these two failures, European experimenters consider him one of the

foremost men in the field, mainly for his mathematical work. He is at present an engineer for Junkers, and lives in Dessau. He is thirty-seven.

GUIDO BARON von PIRQUET

(*Vice-President of the Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Raketentechnik*). A scientist of wide interests, von Pirquet has distinguished himself in rocketry mainly for his mathematical work in connection with nozzle-flare and the speed of exhaust gases. This is an intricate subject, and one of utmost importance to the attainment of high efficiency in rocket motors.

He speaks English, French and Italian fluently, is the moving spirit of the Austrian society, and is well known among scientists for his work in vulcanism and meteorology. He has propounded some interesting mathematical theories in astronautics, and has calculated flight data for future space-ships. He is fifty-four, lives in Vienna and is the fifth son of Peter Zeno Freiherr Pirquet von Cesenatico dit Madarga, Chief of Tyrol.

NIKOLAI A. RYNIN (*Professor of Aviation at the Leningrad Civil Air Force School*). No. 1 man of rockets in Russia, Rynin is a voluminous writer on the subject. He has written a nine-volume encyclopedia of astronautics, and a number of single-volume works. In addition he has carried on rocket experiments, though apparently not on a large scale.

Rynin was born in Moscow in 1877, later moved to Tiflis and finally, in 1896, to St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). He studied there at the Technical High School, became interested in aeronautics and was the friend of a great many giants of European aviation, including Parseval, Crocco, Sikorsky, Rjabuschinsky and Kowanko. His present position, as well as his title (rendered freely above), is somewhat difficult to define or translate. His status gives his rocket experiments a semi-official character, though it is doubtful whether they are backed in an important way by the Soviet Government at present. There has been a rumor about for some time that the Russians are building, or are preparing to build, a 100-mile stratosphere rocket, the preliminary work being carried on secretly. It may be that these fellows will surprise the world as their colleagues did with the record stratosphere balloon, but at present there is no

evidence of any concrete activity along this line.

Rynin is a great collector of things about rockets and astronautics, and loves to get up elaborate bibliographies and lists of publications. His critics say he takes the "nut" communications as seriously as the others; hence that his lists, as well as his encyclopedia, are compounded jointly of useful information and of bunk.

FRITZ SCHMIEDL. This ingenious Austrian engineer is probably the first rocket enthusiast to discover a way to make his experiments pay at least part of their cost. He has established a "rocket-post," shooting dry-fuel "mail rockets" over a small mountain from one town in Austria to another, the towns being Schöckel and Rade-gund, near Graz. The rocket-line distance between these places is only a kilometer or so, but the distance by road, due to the intervening ridge, is somewhat farther, hence the excuse for rocket-post.

The venture would hardly pay, were it not for the inexplicable willingness of a great many persons to expend money for stamps that have had unusual experiences. Schmiedl affixes to his mail a special kind of stamp, with an eye to pleasing the collectors. The mail is mainly that sent by stamp enthusiasts, and no regular schedule is attempted. About twenty successful shots have been made, the mail-rocket leaving a latticed launching rack near Schöckel and lifting its cargo over the hill, landing it somewhere in the vicinity of the other town. It comes down on a parachute.

The success of this idea, which set stamp-collectors all over the world to wanting rocket stamps, has inspired others to try the same scheme, but none has been able to do so well with it. A "rocket-post" was tried out in England recently but the rocket exploded, scattering mail hither and yon. There have been other attempts in Austria and Germany, and the Cleveland Rocket Society has offered collectors a chance to send mail in its first rocket, when fired.

Most experimenters look upon this kind of stunt as cheap and misleading, and likely to get the mail-rocket idea (which is theoretically sound) into the same kind of disrepute as that into which some eccentrics and fanatics have brought the equally sound idea of moon-rockets.

FRITZ von OPEL. A manufacturer of small, cheap cars, von Opel was chiefly responsible for the rocket-car and rocket-sled notoriety in which the German experimenters gloried previous to about 1929.

The work was done mostly by Max Valier (who later was killed) and a pyrotechnic expert named Sander. Valier was a first-class man, a former aviator who had made a thorough study of rockets and who knew that rocket-cars and rocket airplanes, especially when driven by powder-fuel rockets, were silly. After several trials which were eminently successful (from von Opel's point of view) Valier broke with his backer and began liquid-fuel experiments with another German manufacturer, Dr. Paul Heylandt, who owned a liquid air plant.

Von Opel continued the experiments himself for a short time, and was probably the first man to fly in a rocket plane—a glider to which had been fastened large powder-fuel rockets. This contrivance went more than a mile. Shortly after that exploit he gave up the experiments and has not been heard from since in rocketry.

ALEXANDER KLEMIN (*Head of the Guggenheim School of Aeronautics, New York University*). This distinguished aerodynamic engineer has on occasion interested himself in the problems of rocket design from the point of view of aerodynamics. He worked out the proper curvatures and proportions for the large "thrust aug-menter" being constructed on the No. 3 rocket of the American Rocket Society.

LEE M. GREGORY. Most fiction dealing with interplanetary flight includes among the cast of characters a girl who became so interested in the work, or in one of the chief characters, that she stowed away on the trip or was taken along as a member of the crew. Rocket experiments have already attracted several women; the best known of them probably is Miss Gregory. She has attended every rocket test of the American Rocket Society, is librarian of the organization and has done her share toward rocket construction. The parachute used on the society's experimental rockets Nos. 2 and 4 were designed by her, when small commercial parachutes were found to be unsuitable.

She is a magazine writer and columnist, a member of the staff of the United Feature Syndicate, for which she writes

a feature under the pen name of Jacqueline Hunt, now appearing in more than 100 papers.

PHIL E. CLEATOR (*President of the British Interplanetary Society*). At the age of fourteen Cleator invented a "rocket gun," duplicates of which he sold his schoolmates at sixpence each until they got onto the secret of the construction and began to make their own. A year ago he organized the British society, which is still too young to have begun a research program. Its headquarters are at Wallasey.

He is twenty-six, a bright and energetic young man, soon to be married to a German rocket enthusiast, Fräulein Ilse Kuhnel. Cleator made a visit to Germany a few months ago to study the experiments going on there, and it is expected that his society will presently begin an active experimental program.

NATHAN SCHACHNER. One of the foremost exponents of interplanetary flight in America, Schachner has written a great deal on the possibilities and outcome of space-flight, handling the matter both in factual articles and in fiction. He was one of the founders of the American Interplanetary Society, and a former president. He is a member of the experimental committee of the American Rocket Society.

One of his most interesting exploits was the mathematical demonstration that the much-talked-of coldness of space is a myth. Space being empty, it is neither hot nor cold. A warm body would lose heat much more slowly there than in cool air, Schachner showed, because it could lose it only by radiation. A man, provided he could breathe with the aid of an oxygen tank and mask, would be able to live in space for several hours without danger of freezing. In fact, if in the vicinity of the earth, moon, or Venus, he might actually have trouble with the heat, the radiation of the sun being very intense at such distances.

Schachner suffered a painful injury at one of the early experiments of the society, and has since restrained himself from taking more than a spectator's part in actual rocket shots. He is active in designing them, however. He is a New York lawyer, and a frequent contributor to magazines.

DAVID LASSER. One of the founders of the American Interplanetary Society, and its first president, Lasser wrote the first book in English for popular reading on rockets. His book, "*The Conquest of Space*," was published in 1931. It is a good explanation not only of the possibilities of rockets for interplanetary navigation, but also of their terrestrial uses, and is pretty exciting reading.

He is sincere, able, imaginative and equipped with a good technical mind. He is a graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

AUGUSTE PICCARD. The famous Belgian stratosphere balloonist is fond of talking about rockets, and the papers usually give what he says a great deal of attention, despite the fact that few of his prognostications are taken seriously by scientific astronauts.

His most recent outburst was the announcement, last April, at Nancy, France, that the only hope of liberation from the earth consisted of utilizing the pressure of light! If he has been correctly quoted by the press, Piccard apparently has not even troubled to look up the fundamental literature of the subject, but goes around making oracular pronouncements sublime in their innocence of what has been and is being done in this field. In this he has much company, another example apparently being Professor Isadore Bey, of Lyons, France, who recently was quoted by the *United Press* as saying that only by "harnessing radium" could a rocket escape from the earth!

MEN IN GENERAL

THE CONSTRUCTION AND SHOOTING of rockets is a fascinating business, and also a dangerous one. Rocketry already has its martyrs, chief among whom are Max Valier, killed in 1929 when a tank of liquid oxygen blew up, and Reinhold Tiling, blown to pieces last spring in his workshop. Three assistants were killed with Tiling, including a woman. These German experimenters were among the foremost men in the field. Valier's exploits long will be remembered; his rocket experiments electrified Europe, and he was one of the founders of the Verein für Raumschiffahrt. Tiling shot dry-fuel rockets, and made some powerful ones. His most important contribution, however, was devising wings which served

as vanes on the upward flight, but which swung out like the revolving "windmill" on an autogyro at the top of the flight, bringing the rocket spinning gently back to earth.

Tiling established the present world record for altitude in rocket shots—six miles. Such heights have not yet been reached with liquid-fuel rockets, which have gone up about a mile. The problem has not been so much gaining altitude, as constructing rockets capable of using liquid fuels efficiently. This basic problem is now pretty well solved, and we may expect to see some really important flights in the near future, depending on the rapidity with which aerodynamic problems are solved, and the money that experimenters are able to scrape together to pay the necessary expenses.

Herein lies the value of the societies. Dues from many members makes possible the experimental program; the larger the society the more apt it is to have a strong interest in building and shooting rockets. The cost of the raw materials that go into rockets is not great, but the labor of construction, if hired at commercial rates, would run into thousands of dollars. In rocket organizations the mechanical work is mostly contributed by members who have experience in that line.

A number of commercial concerns, interested in the possibilities of rockets, are also helping by contributing materials and fuels. The Air Reduction Company, one of the country's largest makers of liquid air, acetylene and nitrogen, neon and other gases taken from the atmosphere, has contributed the costly and specially prepared liquid oxygen used by the American Rocket Society, has done a large part of the necessary welding and has even supplied gauges, pressure tubing and nitrogen. A. Schrader's Son, makers of pneumatic valves, have also been interested, to the extent of supplying pressure and inlet valves. The Ethyl Corporation once furnished specially compounded fuels, gasoline and kerosene, mixed with ethyl fluid.

How soon all of this will lead to important results is hard to predict. It is difficult to escape the feeling that this work, now in its small beginnings, presages a new era. The notion of rocket flight into space is not as fantastic today, surely, as the idea of transoceanic flight by airplane was 100 years ago.

Return of the Lady

More than a matter of adornment, the "return of the lady" is a world-wide politico-economic movement says "Claire-Howe," the joint signature of Ruth Howe and Claire Sifton. Miss Howe was a member of the staff of the "New York World." Miss Sifton is author of "Midnight 1933."

by Claire Howe

THE passing of stock exchange prosperity, mass interest in sex abnormality and other flamboyant features of that curious era which ended in 1931 brought also what appears to be the final paralysis of the American feminist movement. It had been setting in for years. In fact, when women began to vote they started to lose their fight for equality. The generation which inherited the right to go to the ballot box thought emancipation meant gin and companionate marriage.

As the Depression gathered force, women, with their unlimited capacity for adaptability, abandoned the fight for health girdles, equal pay, endowment of expectant mothers, cropped hair, mannish hats, sensible shoes and all the other battle-cries of the feminist movement. Egged on by Paris dressmakers and the insistence of textile manufacturers for larger turnovers, they escaped to the supposedly romantic age when women posed on pedestals. Skirts that sweep unsanitary floors, cartwheel hats, pinched waistlines and teetering heels mark the return of "the lady." Not a feminist voice is raised in protest.

This reaction is more than a matter of adornment. In the so-called progressive countries like the United States, Great Britain and Scandinavia, where woman's independence has meant more than the right to appear as unattractive as possible, there are many signs that the Hitler program of bundling all women back into their kitchens has appealed as a solution to the unemployment problem. The frontal attack has been against the married woman. National and local authorities have pursued a steady policy of ousting her from teaching and civil positions.

Large industrial and business organizations have followed suit.

Aside from the formal protests of such organizations as the National Woman's Party and the National League of Women Voters, American women have made little or no attempt to defend their right to work regardless of their marital status. Individually some have met the problem by using a little ingenuity.

Forced to choose between the marriage license and a job, many young women have managed without the license and are living in sin and secrecy with their life's partners and a double income. To accuse the United States Government of forcing "the flower of American womanhood" to live in love nests in order to hold their jobs, is, of course, not our province. But it is a matter of note that one of the largest and most conservative institutions in this country, one whose moral attitudinizing is equal only to the political corruption of the city in which it thrives, has driven a great many of its "unmarried" women employees to the uneasiness of a double life in order to safeguard their incomes. In another instance, that of a Texas railroad, the married women job-holders hurled divorce papers at the company board which had instituted a ban against them. But the women were fired anyway. In still another instance, the husbands gallantly did the resigning. When the Federal Economy Act became effective, compelling the resignation of either husband or wife where both were employed by the government, a number of men in the navy yards cheerfully laid down their tools and allowed their better-paid wives to carry on.

The drive against the married woman wage-earner is an undeniable "trend." Furthermore, it has the support of single women and the non-earning housewife. In Czechoslovakia recently, it was reported, Catholic women organized to petition the government to fire all married women in civil employment. Little do these women reckon that their immediate self-interest may obtain for them a sour victory.

Under democracy this "trend" against women has manifested itself so far in drives against married women. Under Fascism, Hitler and Mussolini have demanded that women's activities shall be restricted to the intensified breeding of male children. They are deprived of suffrage, presumably to make sure that they keep their minds on their designated function. Intensified housework has been officially named as woman's second job. Hitler recently decreed that the 600,000 girls now graduating from schools and colleges shall serve a term of not less than one year as maids in homes of the Fatherland.

Incidentally, what will be done with all the females, the "rice-eaters," whom nature will unfailingly supply under such a breeding program, Hitler notwithstanding, is not indicated. If times continue to be bad, the Fascists will have to bind their feet and sell them, unless some less wasteful way out can be found, such as conscripting them for war, or to work in government rug factories in exchange for food allowances. But that will again be





taking away jobs from men.

Mussolini, of course, started the back to the kitchen and cradle movement and his country-women are obediently peopling their small, infertile land with the abandon of settlers in a tractless wilderness. Mussolini also fixes the length of their dresses and makes them wear sleeves. On the whole they seem to like that. Perhaps that is a trend, too.

At any rate it appears that about all women can logically expect out of Fascism is an extra ration of butter fats during the gestation period. And Fascism is, apparently, one of the possible ends to the present economic chaos. Would-be dictators with shirted troops are cropping up everywhere and many men *and women* think they have some splendid ideas.

Whether the voluntary return to a status of chattel slavery, such as has taken place among the women of Central and Southern Europe, could happen in the United States, even under a Fascist dictatorship, is a question. The average American woman looks and acts as independently as almost any conception of the Woman of the Future. She dresses to please herself. She knows how to buy economically and intelligently. She travels alone in subways, ships and railways. She has made a place for herself in offices and factories. She drives her own car, gives interviews to newspapers from airplane cockpits, appears as counsel before the Supreme Court, or manages her own string of horses. Certainly, women did not do these things back in '88. It is conceivable that even in Russia, where sex inferiority is neither legal nor economic, there is more wife-beating than in the land of the New Deal.

As a record of fact, in this and most Western countries woman has acquired the right to hold office; to control her own property; to share equally in the guardianship of her children. This is so taken for granted by the present generation of women that they cannot conceive of a time when the law required that personal fortunes, real estate, even pay cheques, had to be handed over to father or husband to do with as he thought fit.

And, despite its tarnished glory, women did win the vote. Unfortunately, this privilege, achieved at so much cost, has not proved the "*Open, Sesame*" to every other equal right women expected. However, the vote established one thing: when it came to the ballot box, women were after all like men. None of the hopes and fears in regard to giving them suffrage has been realized. Even the argument that they would vote for the best-looking candidate has not been borne out. Congressmen, members of parliament and aldermen remain as phenomenally unattractive as ever. As to the moral leaven which idealists hoped women would bring to democracy, it has signally failed to rise.

In public office women have displayed the same disposition towards political ineptitude and corruption as men. The malfeasances of a Florence E. Knapp, the unprofessional opportunism of a Mabel Walker Willebrandt, are balanced by the practical idealism of a Frances Perkins and the sincere acceptance of co-responsibility on the part of the President's wife. Women are just like men. For

every Ma Ferguson there is a Pa Ferguson. Women in office have, on the whole, displayed an astuteness in playing the political game which suggests that the feminine political brain can equal the male and must, therefore, be biologically of the same strength.

But the electorates are still somewhat in doubt. The increase of women in public bodies has been slow in ratio to their total numbers. But progress is discernible. In addition to the 8,000 postmistresses steaming open mail in communities of less than 5,000 population, there are almost 11,000 women now on the Federal payrolls. They are, in fact, increasing their numbers in minor political offices more rapidly than men are.

The same facts are true for England. Housewives, after their domestic stint, sit on county and city council meetings to see that the municipal trolleys and other services are properly run. Although women are still barred from service as jurors in many places, there are a few women judges. And public opinion is beginning to admit that women are useful around children's courts and in handling wayward minors. Given time, in the civil and political field, there is a fair chance that women may break even—perhaps by the time that legislators have ceased to have any significance and are looked upon as amusing vestiges of the colorful past.

Many women have won success as doctors and lawyers. An increasing number of learned societies are admitting them to membership. Selma Lagerlöf captured a Nobel Prize for literature and Willa Cather is mentioned for it as often as H. G. Wells. Jane Addams got half of a peace prize once.

Women often make the front pages on news items unconnected with divorce proceedings or losing their jewelry in taxicabs. A woman flew the Atlantic solo; another swam the English Channel. Some explore the Congo; others the Amazon jungle. In fact they do almost everything except go on a Byrd expedition. Although these stunts can be counted up definitely on the credit side of emancipation, most of them have been done by women to prove they could do them as women and not necessarily as people.

Then, of course, women smoke and drink and ride on top of busses like men. News reels show them rushing about without veils in Turkey and drilling in middy suits in Japan. They have proved that to do this they need not be wall-eyed or a member of the third sex.

There is a much publicized fraction not listed as "gainfully employed" who have worked the business of emancipation as a racket with the help of Reno and the alimony laws. Another three or four per cent are sitting pretty, with the American husband and father just about black-jacked by the advertising trade into giving mother everything except the shirt on his back. But these are the lilies of the field, and when Count Keyserling comes over and sees them sitting about in Park Avenue drawing rooms and hotel lobbies, he says that we have a matriarchy here. Male writers of light verse and prose find it profitable to complain whimsically about the war between men and women. Statistically, however, this group does not even show on the charts.

The Census of 1930 showed that 10,752,116 women, or about one fifth of the female population, were working, compared with three fourths of the male. In other words, the great majority of women today are still in their homes. According to the Women's Bureau of the United States



Department of Labor, this is only a ten per cent increase in the number of women, sixteen years or older, who work, since the Census of 1870. This is not much to brag about in sixty years!

The percentage of women who work in England, where they have more than held their own as novelists, League of Nations' Delegates, and hockey coaches, indicates that women are

losing ground in other occupations. The International Labor Bureau survey, conducted by Dr. Marguerite Thibert, reports that the percentage of females employed in England in 1891 was 26.9 per cent. By 1911 it had fallen to 25.9; by 1921 to 25.5. In Scotland, the increase has been only 0.2 per cent in thirty years. The percentages in these two countries are probably explained by the cutting down of female child labor.

In France, 39 per cent of the female population was at work in 1906. In 1926, this figure had fallen to 36.6 per cent. Even so, apparently a larger number of women are out earning wages in factories and offices, fields and vineyards, in France than in America or Great Britain. This is a startling refutation of the popular notion that French women spurn jobs outside their homes.

In Austria, Belgium, Denmark and, of course, Italy, the number of women workers during the last half century of feminine progress has also fallen. Before Hitler, Germany showed the greatest increase of all countries—in 1882, only 24 per cent of the women were employed; in 1926, 36.6 per cent—but, of course, all that is over now.

The appearance of the woman worker has changed greatly in the past fifty years. The heavily petticoated seamstresses and servants of the '80's are overalled women at modern machine-driven laundries and factories today. That very change implies a gain in freedom and, therefore, sex equality. But the impetus which brought about this change has come more from the extension of the industrial system than from emancipation.

Women outside of the top Four Hundred have always worked. The question of whether they should, or should not, never arose, even theoretically, until they entered factories and began to undercut men's wages. They provided agricultural labor throughout the centuries. Less than a hundred years ago, they worked in mines in England alongside their children, doing the lowest type of unskilled manual labor. Sometimes they were harnessed to trucks, thrifty mine-owners finding that they could be got for less money than it took to feed a good mule and keep it healthy. But when men were eased out of jobs, to be replaced by women at lower wages, moral scruples developed about taking women out of their homes. For the sake of the free labor market, reformers advocated the theory of woman's biological inferiority. The arguments referred especially to child-bearing, a threat to the race.

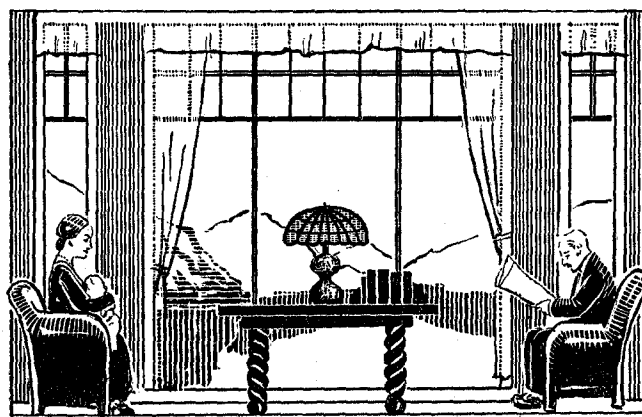
In America, biological inferiority did not prevent the pioneer woman from helping to clear forests and break new land. She was slow entering the factory because of the plentiful supply of cheap immigrant labor. Nevertheless, by the turn of the century, the first census figures

showed that 18 per cent of the female population of the United States was working outside the home. This revelation, coupled with the strident suffrage movement, frightened the bishops and other guardians of public morals. Every Sunday the burial service was read over the American Family.

But, figuratively speaking, the bishops were crying in the wilderness. The American Family had long before become incorporated in the factory system, its clothes, food, laundry and physical ailments, an important mainstay of the industrial structure. Technological unemployment struck the woman in the home first of all, rendering uneconomic hand-sewing, home-baking and canning, even laundering. For the middle-class woman, the advertising trade invented new symbols of social inferiority—the apron, the dust mop and the washing line. The leisured woman, therefore, turned to bridge. The others went into offices and factories in order to wear silk underwear and encarnadine their fingernails.

Today, here and there, a woman may be found driving a taxi or managing a mine. But, except for the new occupations such as telephone operator and stenographer, most work done by women is still in the domestic tradition. According to a bulletin on Occupational Progress, issued by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, almost one third of the female population of more than ten years of age, or 29.16 per cent, is engaged in domestic and personal service. This means as servants and waitresses in homes, hotels and restaurants. Of the 17.5 per cent in manufacturing, half are in textiles, the remainder in tobacco, shoe, candy and baking industries. Clerical and stenographic jobs are filled by 18.5 per cent; 9 per cent are in stores; 8.5 per cent in agriculture and 2.6 per cent work as telephone operators. Teaching and nursing, including a fraction in the so-called learned professions, employ the remaining 14.2 per cent.

To a great extent, these are occupations and lines of



work in which women do not compete with men, because of their traditionally feminine character and low pay. Hence, the charge of usurpation can scarcely be sustained.

Furthermore, from the Women's Bureau statistics, it appears that, with a few exceptions, women tend to increase in numbers as workers in unskilled, lower paid occupations and to decrease in the skilled, tightly unionized trades and the professions. While they are failing in numbers as accountants, they are increasing rapidly as bookkeepers and cashiers. They have declined considerably as skilled tailors and cutters, but have increased as operatives in the clothing trade.

When it is recalled that practically the whole fight for

equal opportunity was epitomized in the struggle of women to gain entrance to the medical profession, it is depressing to note that the number of women physicians has declined from 5.9 per cent in 1910 to 5.2 per cent in 1930, and this despite increased facilities for admitting women to medical schools.

In 1928, when the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, a hospital founded by the first woman doctor, Elizabeth Blackwell, to provide women with the opportunity to acquire surgical and clinical practice, narrowly escaped closing, it was revealed that of the 1,667 attending physicians and surgeons in the twenty-six largest New York hospitals only twenty were women. There were 700 graduate women physicians at that time, compared to 15,000 men. In other words only 3 per cent of the women doctors had managed to secure appointments as compared with 11 per cent of the men. In the obstetrical and gynecological field, where it might be expected that the woman specialist would gain a substantial footing, only four had been able to obtain hospital appointments.

Commenting on the plight of the woman surgeon, Dr. Eleanor Van Alstyne, then president of the New York Women's Medical Association, said: "Denied hospital practice, except in a few institutions staffed by women such as the Infirmary, she is condemned to practice minor surgery for the rest of her life. And she is handicapped in private practice because she cannot take her patients to general hospitals, but has to rely on private sanatoria where only the wealthy patient can afford to go."

In other professions women have run upon stony thoroughfares. In 1930 there were only 379 women architects, which is not surprising when it is considered that experience is absolutely necessary and impossible to obtain. Something of the same *impasse* occurs in accountancy. Sophonisba Breckenridge, in her book, "*Women in the Twentieth Century*," points out that in 1920 there were only seven women members of the American Institute of Accountants out of a total membership of 1,500. Owing to the fact that considerable prejudice exists against women in this occupation, it is not likely that they have increased their numbers since.

Outstanding exceptions to the retrogressive trend are the increasing number of women college presidents and professors. As authors, editors and reporters women are rapidly usurping men. In 1910 there were only 6,239 women reporters; in 1930, there were 17,371. Women are still in the majority as school teachers, but the statistics indicate that they are beginning to lose some of their advantage. In the decade, 1920 to 1930, men teachers registered a gain of 62.6 per cent as compared with 34.4

per cent for women teachers. This would indicate that the future holds little opportunity for women in this traditionally woman's profession. The decline noted in the case of women music teachers is much sharper.

"As artists, sculptors and teachers of art," the Women's Bureau report states, "men appear to be forging to the front at the expense of women, but the change is not so great as among musicians and teachers of music."

As composers, linotype operators and typesetters—highly organized, well-paid crafts—women are rapidly losing ground. Whereas in 1910 there was one woman to every eight men in this trade, there are now 17 men to each woman. In 1912, there were 12,500 women members of the Machinists' Union; in 1931, none at all. The Moulders' Union bars women from membership.

Crumbs of comfort, especially on the cash side, may be derived from the fact that women are increasing rapidly as real estate agents and "beauticians." Beauty is still a woman's job, it seems, in all territory west of Fifth Avenue. They are increasing in the advertising trade, as domestic servants, in certain lines of industry where light machinery is used and, of course, as stenographers and telephone operators. They have decreased in the manufacturing and mechanical trades, but so, to a less degree, have men, machinery having replaced both.

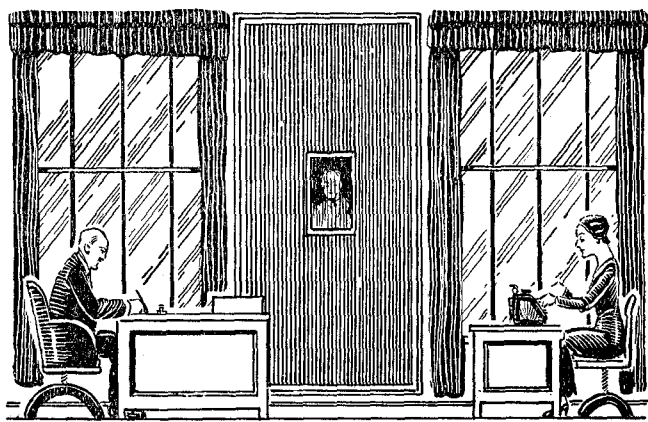
But women's wages lag far behind those of men. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that, for the years from 1922 to 1932, women's average earnings in nine important woman-employing industries were only from 45 to 84 per cent as much as men's. In over three fourths of the cases women's earnings were less than 70 per cent of men's.

In New York, women's wages in manufacturing were 54 per cent of men's in 1932; in Illinois they were 58 per cent. Although the difference between men's and women's wages is largely due to women's work, being unskilled, even when they work at the same jobs, women as a rule receive less pay than men.

The principle of wage discrimination in regard to sex recently received official sanction in the codes of the NRA. Of 194 codes approved up to the end of December, forty-four contained clauses fixing lower wage rates for women than men. Six of these were blanket rules, the remaining thirty-eight contained qualifying clauses to the effect that the lower rate shall not apply to women doing the same work as men. But, as the Women's Bureau points out, the discriminating rates are already fixed as part of the law of the codes, and past experience, in particular that of the War Labor Board, has shown that such qualifications are of "little value in securing wage rates for women equal to those of men doing the same work."

Again, on the issues of unemployment among women and decline of wages, this same authority has nothing hopeful to add. The fragmentary data which the Bureau has been able to collect is published with the comment that unemployment not only appears more serious for women than men but "undoubtedly is of a permanent character."

Figures for the manufacturing industry in New York State, covering the period from June, 1931, to June, 1932, showed a decline of 19.2 per cent for women and 16 per cent for men. In Illinois, for all industries for the same period, women's wages declined 17.2 per cent; men's 16.9 per cent. This trend is also reflected in the cotton states and in New Hampshire and Massachusetts.



The NRA sins of the present Administration in respect to women, however, pale before the infamous Section 213 of the Federal Economy Act, initiated by Hoover and continued, dismissals and all, by the liberal Roosevelt Administration. The law forbids the employment of both husband and wife in the Civil Service, an interdict carried out mostly against wives. Section 213—sanctioned by a popular administration with a First lady of outstandingly emancipated habits both of utterance and of locomotion and the First Woman in the Cabinet—has given impetus in the United States to a movement, well-advanced in other countries, which must if it continues its logical progress put women back in the Middle Ages.

State legislatures have followed the example of the Federal government. Last year bills along the same line were introduced into legislatures of Illinois, Pennsylvania and Washington, the last, ironically enough, by a woman. New York in 1933 had a bill to prevent both husband and wife working in the same school system.

In a survey of 1,500 cities made by the National Education Association in 1930 and '31, about 77 per cent of the cities, it was indicated, do not employ new teachers who are married. In more than one half of these cities, as soon as a woman teacher marries she is forced to resign.

Railroads have dismissed married women in large numbers. One road is said to have discharged 1,500 and replaced them with 500 men. A Texas railroad announced that it would fire all married women whose husbands were making \$50 a month and over. The Spokane-Portland and Seattle Railway, in reply to a circular from the National Federation of Professional and Business Women's Clubs, stated last year that "pursuant to an agreement entered into with the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, married women employees whose husbands are able to support them are relieved from service, and that no married woman had been employed since the agreement was entered into."

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, according to the New York branch of the National Woman's Party, has dismissed practically all its married women employees. Although seventeen other railroads circularized by the Federation announced that they would not discriminate against married women employees, some officials qualified the statement by adding that in certain cases where the woman did not need her salary she was dismissed. The Northern Pacific Railway Company dismissed all married women employees on October 1, 1931. The New England Telephone and Telegraph Company has also pursued this policy.

Because of the obviousness of its appeal during the Depression when jobs are scarce, this policy of discrimina-

tion against the married woman has been easy to carry out. It is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that if unemployment continues—and even the most irresponsible optimist admits that machinery must under any circumstances continue to put people out of jobs—it will in the end result in a complete ban against all women who work for wages outside the home.

In the face of the ocean of unemployment (it used to be called a pool) it has been impossible to argue that everybody has the right to work, man or woman. Women's leaders have given up trying. They fall back, instead, on surveys showing that women work only because they have to, not because they want to. The Women's Bureau, that most efficient organization, headed by Mary Anderson, has issued eight bulletins on such surveys in different parts of the country. Their conclusions are that women work "to keep the home and family together because of the husband's inadequate wage, his unemployment, his illness, or incapacity; to raise the family's standard of living to a health and decency basis; to give the children a better education; to buy a home, or household equipment; to pay off doctor's bills; to support elderly parents or other relations; to save for a rainy day."

Similarly, this thesis that women work because they have to, rather than because they want to be independent, is a conclusion derived from a questionnaire recently sent out by the National Federation of Professional and Business Women's Clubs to 5,000 of its members. This showed that two thirds of them had dependents, more than one fourth had some person entirely dependent on them; an additional fifth shared responsibility for the support of two or more persons. It is significant that an organization of this kind, feminist in tradition and character, should take this defensive attitude.

Again, the National Woman's Party, most feminist of them all, which has for years fought to obtain repeal of protective laws for women—such laws as the minimum wage for women and those forbidding nightwork—on the grounds that such protection was discriminatory, has now abandoned this activity to concentrate on the passage of the so-called equal rights Amendment, which, they say, will automatically do away with all sex inequalities, whether favorable or otherwise. That such an amendment would be unenforceable goes without saying. The Government will not soon again, after the disastrous failure of the Eighteenth Amendment, attempt to put into the field the huge army of enforcement officers that would be required to check up on every factory, restaurant, store and hotel, to see that men and women employed are paid the same low wage for the same work.



Bright, New Scheme

Out of more than 200 treaties made since the World War, serious European statesmen have real faith in only one—the Locarno Pact. France, out of fear, and for other reasons, wants another such pact, which in European diplomacy is being called “the bright, new scheme.”

by Frédéric Sabatier and
Wythe Williams

THIS latter half of the year 1934, if it is not scarred and scared by any one of a dozen or so possibilities, may be marked as the turning point toward definitely restoring the European equilibrium of peace. For a while at least, a new war may not darken the sunlight of peace, and humanity may restore itself to that calm of a bygone epoch—an epoch which to the younger generation is a blank, and to the older ones is rapidly becoming a memory.

After a multitude of troubles which shrouded the first half of the year—revolt here and near-revolution there, punctuated by the murderer's bullets and by the articulation of machine guns, more comprehensive, more rational plans are now being drawn for the reestablishment of order than since the Treaty of Versailles. The leader in this enterprise is France—a France uneasy almost to the point of fear over what might result otherwise.

The Doumergue Government, called to power at a most critical moment in the life of the Third Republic, has gone methodically at the manufacture of a peace pipe which it is now proposed shall be passed about to the entire circle of states which constitute Europe. Great powers and small, each and every one is invited to inhale the soothing effluvia of this calumet of concord.

Much may happen, much is likely to happen, before a new Elysium shall be reached. The Doumergue Cabinet may, of course, conceivably be added to the long list that makes up the ex-governments of France. However, for the moment, the septuagenarian Gastounet is the boss. In recent history “the coming man” in France, as for example Clemenceau and Poincaré, has been summoned out of the

past in order to save the nation, and always he has reached the three-score years and ten. But now no sufficiently old man appears likely to send “Papa” Doumergue back to his turnips and cabbages in the village of Tournefeuille.

The Doumergue Cabinet is neither adventurous nor romantic. It is thoroughly practical, painstaking and full of understanding that it will be cast into oblivion

unless good—much good—results from its labors. In its peace plan it has rigidly held to the now ancient French thesis of security first, and disarmament later—perhaps. At the same time it has deviously, cautiously, woven a complex web. Tactful and crafty in diplomacy, distinctive and contra-distinctive in the nuance of expression—placing the same meaning in new words for old—these French artisans now place before Europe and before the world “a bright, new scheme” which, while actually weather-beaten and barnacled in many respects, is yet so ingenious that escape from its meshes may be difficult for any nation which openly professes international good will.

Several events in rapid and dramatic succession helped the cause along, especially in so far as France was able to re-strengthen her strained *entente cordiale* with England—without which she might become seriously handicapped.

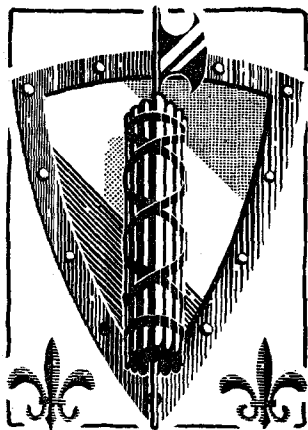
Public opinion, both in England and in France, was awakened suddenly by a fact already well known in limited governmental and military circles. This fact is that war between these nations has only within recent times become impossible. Therefore it behooves them both to march side by side, primarily for common defense, in case war arrives from a direction where it remains not only possible but wholly probable.

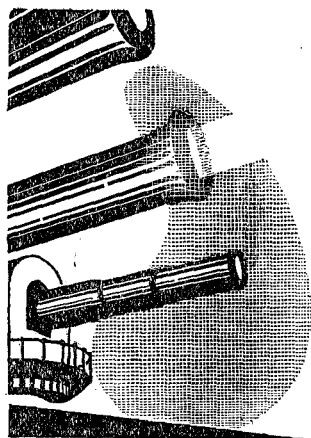
The recent trip of the French Foreign Minister Barthou to Warsaw, Bucharest, Prague and Belgrade indicated clearly to England that important results might result from the French policy, above all because Russia was asked to participate in the so-called “Oriental pact” which we will take up later in this article. All or anything that concerns Russia interests England profoundly.

Then out of the black night came the Hitler *coup d'état* of upsetting completely the favorable opinion of Germany that had been held in England.

The change in British opinion, especially as regards the necessity of increased air defense, is not yet understood abroad. Until lately Great Britain has showed almost complete indifference concerning German re-armament. Her people seemed convinced of their security. To the British, the destruction of the German fleet at Scapa Flow destroyed forever all possibility of German peril. England again was the inviolate island that it had been since the reign of William the Conqueror.

But the recent progress of submarine building, heavy long range artillery and above all, increase in aviation, tended to awaken the idea that England might easily be deprived of her insular privileges. Batteries of





Berthas installed at Calais can destroy London, and also the Woolwich Arsenal. The possession of the French and Belgian channel ports would assure German submarines a facility of manœuvres which would make the feeding of England impossible. Finally the prodigious acceleration of air speed and the increase of transport capacity, thanks largely to American technique, permits Britain no

longer to assure its safety or even to organize a defense upon its own soil.

Therefore war between France and England has become out of the question because it carries with it the quasi-destruction of the northwest of France encircling Paris, and the southeast of England wherein is situated the capital of the British Empire.

Great Britain is no longer a refuge from German airplanes unless protected by advanced bastions. The new zone of protection extends from the North Sea to the Alps along the frontiers of Holland, Belgium and France, which now in reality become the eastern air frontier of England. The clauses of the Versailles Treaty covering the demilitarization of the left bank of the Rhine are now as useful to England as to France.

In reality, if one transposes into the domain of the air the doctrines which since the 17th century have inspired the British Admiralty, it is easy to see that an air union between England and France has the same value as the former naval combines between England and the powers occupying the mouths of the Rhine and the Scheldt.

In this regard the Treaty of Locarno, which guarantees the actual French frontiers, is an adaptation to the present time of that great principle of defense at a distance which in the 17th and 18th centuries led England into war to keep France away from the coast of Holland, and which always has made the United Kingdom consider the violation of Belgian independence a *casus belli*.

Similarly in 1905 the development of the German fleet which constituted a direct peril for England was the chief factor in tightening the *entente cordiale*.

And so today the thought of an attack by the German air squadrons or the rebirth of the Prussian fleet, already seen in the construction of the pocket battleships, has finally convinced England that she is in the presence of an immediate danger only to be escaped or minimized by the aid of France.

Without doubt this point of view is still held chiefly by the technical leaders—the War Office and the Admiralty—and by a relatively small section of the Conservative Party. But this group is influential because it comprises the leading personalities of the party, notably Lord Londonderry, Minister of Air, and Lord Hailsham, Minister of War, who may be the next Prime Minister.

Outside this clairvoyant battalion the majority of public opinion is not yet greatly alarmed. The press campaign

prior to the recent visit of M. Barthou to London attests that Great Britain is not yet ready to make “entangling alliances” which she considers would carry responsibility to engage in, perhaps, the Second World War. Aversion to the idea of alliance exists in the United Kingdom. The engagements of Locarno are considered to be the maximum obligation.

Despite this state of mind, which is especially strong among the pacifists, the labor classes and the Liberals, certainly a great transformation occurred in June, 1934, in all that concerned the question of national defense.

Heretofore violently anti-militarist, the congress of trade-unions has just declared for the collaboration of England to protect a nation unjustly attacked. Speeches by Lord Londonderry and Lord Hailsham have strongly influenced the Cabinet. One now hears that the air force must be equal to that of the strongest, or even reach twice the level of the biggest, on the Continent—the old navy principle of two keels for one. A vast program of airdrome building in the south and east of England should eventually assure these squadrons of the air.

So much for the internal situation. In her foreign policy it is doubtful whether Great Britain will soon permit herself to negotiate a well-defined accord with France, or even a defined understanding between the two armies. On the other hand the recent visits of General Weygand and of Lord Hailsham to France have brought a perfect understanding between the responsible authorities of the two countries in so far as it concerns air defense. If not an actual *entente* in the literal sense, there is now a latent *entente*, and its means of application are now the object of serious study on both sides of the Channel.

Certain British specialists have even considered the idea of establishing airdromes in France and Belgium to be held in reserve for British escadrilles which could thus be on hand quickly in case of the necessity to take reprisals against Germany. Even the question of quickly reconstituting the Expeditionary Force of the Army for continental service is under consideration.

More than all this is the new comprehension of the German peril to England, and the necessity for strict solidarity with France. Until now guarantees given by England to France were considered by Great Britain as unilateral in character. England rendered service to France, who was the principal beneficiary of the operation. During the month of June, 1934, the new idea took root—that of equality of interest. Reciprocity of guarantees is now admitted by the chieftains of the Conservative party, and naturally it had influence upon what undoubtedly has been the most important meeting of the year—that in London between the British ministers and M. Barthou.

Curious circumstances led up to this meeting and made it possible. At the previous disarmament session in Geneva, the dialogue between the French and British Foreign Ministers became a verbal duel. Two opposing policies were hurled about at that meeting. England wanted disarmament first, while France hung on as always for security. England was in apparent accord with Italy in accepting the legalization of the actual German rearmament. France insisted that such manifest violation of the Treaty of Versailles would result in its final dissolution. England then wanted to end the Geneva Conference and to confide the task of disarmament to a *directoire* of the Great Powers.

France, as usual faithful to the League, demanded either continuation or a simple adjournment of the deliberations.

Opposition to the two theses was aggravated by the personal antagonism of the two ministers. Sir John Simon, who spoke first, was tactless and acrimonious. Barthou, who is a hot tempered Bernais and who desired also to impress the French that he is not without future ambitions, replied with extreme bitterness. This was not the urbane, unctuous fashion of Geneva, where in manner and matter of speech one is accustomed to follow the Beatitudes. The pessimists loudly proclaimed a rupture.

Ramsay MacDonald then intervened from London. The British Prime Minister has a predilection for pouring oil on troubled waters. The role of mediator rests happily upon him. Thanks to his suave manner and also to his facility for making promises—promises which his government is not always able to keep—he was able to retrieve a situation almost out of hand, and, perhaps to his liking, gain a personal success where his Foreign Minister had failed.

The French Government accepted the invitation. The MacDonald olive branch was the gauge which permitted the Disarmament Conference to adjourn rather than to terminate its existence. But the near-quarrel at Geneva had revealed the thread-bareness of the *entente cordiale*. Both governments realized the immediate necessity of getting back to the friendly understanding.

The French policy then, at the beginning of July, was to show with *éclat*, and to prove to England, the existence of an imposing new force that would command attention.

Barthou during his trudge around Europe a month earlier had managed to fix up the Franco-Polish alliance, if not entirely, at least in all that concerned common defense of the frontiers of both nations in the face of German aggression. An alliance *de facto* if not *de jure* was established between France and the three powers of the *Little Entente* in all that concerned integrity of territory. An accord between the *Little Entente* and Greece and Turkey to safeguard the *status quo* in the Balkans and to the oriental boundaries of Europe was under way. All this to be linked up with Russia's signature of non-aggression with Poland and subsequently with the Balkan governments, in more strict liaison with France, and properly authorized under the Covenant of the League, to which, naturally, Russia must now adhere.

Such an ensemble would constitute a sort of new cosmogony—a system of states revolving around France as the center of the political constellation. A great force would thus be constituted—a pacific force directed toward keeping the *status quo*, but at the same time a world force such as even Great Britain must take into account.

The attitude of the British at the start of the meeting was reserved, almost hostile. Whitehall does not like the Balkan nations, which it considers only slightly civilized, and understanding the barbarous rather than the classic methods of war.

England is fundamentally opposed to antagonistic *blocs*. At bottom she believes in an accord with Italy, to establish classification between the powers, and to reserve the direction to the counsel of the "Big Four." It is the application of her home doctrine of the hierarchy of race. Her diplomacy therefore would be to deprive France of her

habitual clientele of little powers, to aid the Italian ambitions along the Danube and to keep the *Little Entente* from becoming too powerful.

Also the entry of Turkey into the Balkan ensemble might risk permitting Kemal Pasha to bring up the question of the Dardanelles and the abrogation of their demilitarization stipulations.

Above all Great Britain is anxious, extremely anxious, concerning Russia. Recently she has modified in a large measure her ostracism of the Bolsheviks. The chiefs of Soviet aviation recently have been guests of the British army. Britain is fully *au courant* of the slight but steady transformation that reintegrates Russia gradually into the ranks of civilized governments. But Britain also realizes that Russia re-enters in the traditional policy of the Moscovite Empire. She fears that the U.S.S.R. does not abandon, notably in Eastern and Central Asia, in Persia, along the frontier of India, the ancient ambitions of the Czars.

The political *chef d'oeuvre* of Edward VII was perhaps not so much the *entente cordiale* as the co-existence of the *entente cordiale* with the Franco-Russian alliance, and the conciliation, thanks to the mediation of France, of the two classic rivals—the British lion and the Russian bear.

England now fears, and this fear is increased by the French position, that Russia might find in European security the temptation to further her Asiatic designs, and that France, considering Russia as an exchange ally, might thereby hamper England. In brief the British Foreign Office does not wish to lose the role of arbitrator that it has played since 1918, and which gives it the useful privilege of suavely showing preference.

The definite formation of a Southeast system under French influence and tutelage, the outline of a Mediterranean system, a Russian-Balkan understanding, connected with the Franco-Russian accord, all constituted important events of the early summer that the British statesmen must take into account during their talks with the indefatigable, redoubtable Barthou.

At this moment the news of the Hitler *coup d'état* and the assassinations at Berlin and Munich were more than a trifle disconcerting. The editorial of *The London Times* of July 2, while not precisely approving, was slightly apologizing. This great journal seemingly did not doubt the existence of some real plot and explained the savagery of repression as the simple result of necessity. It was only in the following days that the British press unanimously condemned the Hitlerian barbarity. Possibly the London press took pains to discover the ghastly truth, veiled by German propaganda and the euphemisms of discreet correspondents. But above all Hitler merited no further friendly consideration. So far as England was concerned the dwindling of his authority and prestige cancelled his former economic and political force. The English plans could not accommodate themselves to a Germany in chaos, and Whitehall arrived at the conclusion that the prolongation of Hitlerism was the prolongation of chaos.

Germany, reduced to such a state of feebleness and disorder, cannot, in the minds of British politicians, make trouble for France on the Continent. The equilibrium is upset—a situation often denounced by England in public discussion, but permitted in policy. Above all a Germany

in a latent state of revolution is incapable of playing a role in the economic restoration of Europe. But she still can aggravate disease. All these things were considered. Hitler was judged and condemned, and so it may be stated that Hitlerian Germany did indeed pave the way for closer coöperation between England and France. The French star had risen and the German star, momentarily at least, had disappeared from the political skies of Europe.

In London on the 9th of July, morning and afternoon, Sir John Simon and Louis Barthou confronted each other, with their political aides and experts. On the next day they met again, and then lunched with Stanley Baldwin, who remains the leader of the party that governs in reality—the Conservatives. Between Barthou and Baldwin the talk went to the root of the situation.

Prime Minister MacDonald was not present, as he was preparing to embark for Canada. Certain French papers, badly informed, or with bad intentions, explained that his departure was caused by a diplomatic malady coincident with the change in the British foreign policy. It was recalled that MacDonald's chief antagonist is Lord Hailsham, who is the leading partisan of the French alliance. The facts are that for a year MacDonald has been in poor health. His eye-sight is failing and he is constantly under medical care. Perhaps he is less ill than merely worn out. He may have been able to meet Barthou but certainly not able to carry on discussions with that vigorous statesman. In fact unless he makes a miraculous recovery his successor may soon be named. He remains Prime Minister now largely because of the traditional high courtesy that has survived the democratization of England, and also because it is difficulty to find someone with the "national" label. A pure conservative would at once arouse the hostility of liberals and labor.

However, the absence of MacDonald marked no radical change in the policy maintained at the London meeting. If on certain points there seemed to be some changes, they were in reality only extensions—the application of new principles to new situations, but with no abandonment of previous doctrines.

To resume the results of the interviews, England remains, as in the past, refractory to all ideas of alliance. Barthou knew in advance that the thought had not yet flowered, so he made not the slightest allusion to it. The only signed obligations of England toward France are precisely those stipulated by the League Covenant and by the Treaty of Locarno.

One may regret the British reserve. An open affirmation of military coöperation between France and Great Britain would assure the maintenance of peace. It would prevent the fulfilment of the ambitions of Germany. It would allay the nervousness of France and in fact would add nothing to British responsibility. It would be impossible for Britain to dissociate herself from a Franco-German war, first by reason of the Covenant of Locarno, and second because Germany would certainly launch an attack through Belgium—which, as Sir John Simon declared in a speech as recently as July 13th, Great Britain will never permit. And finally the development of aviation forces strict solidarity between France and England.

However, the situation is as it is. The English people only begin to see their danger. For some time, probably, the Anglo-French formula must remain only an *entente*

cordiale—that is to say a sort of free union, without act or contract of marriage.

On the other hand the London interviews restored to the *entente* all its former ardour. Conflicting viewpoints have been brought into parallel. The personal unpleasantness which marred the meeting at Geneva has been forgotten. Undoubtedly the international situation prepared the reconciliation between the Foreign Ministers, but the performance of Barthou did the rest. He achieved a personal success at London. It was difficult ground for him. If he lets himself out according to his preferences of speech and spirit he is often both lively and mocking. But at London he did not risk the displeasure of the British statesmen. He was reserved and charming, and above all showed consummate art in convincing the English of the sincerity of the French policy.

If he could not bring back to Paris an alliance, he had the good luck to bring a real cordiality, which is most essential in a free collaboration rather than actual contract. This cordiality undoubtedly will manifest itself in the tolerance left to the military chiefs of both nations. A sudden war would find them side by side as comrades and friends—harmonious and reciprocal in their respective projects. So finally summing up the situation, the two peoples, without changing their legal status, in practice continue to march side by side, without linking arms but at least at the same pace. That means much.

We now come to the great French plan with its various labels—notably the Eastern Locarno or the Oriental Pact. France in these days, and possibly because of the British abhorrence for the words treaty and alliance, now prefers to talk about *pacts* or *accords* or *understandings*—or any other word that is a distinction without a difference from those which are taboo.

This French plan envisages five political units spread from West to East: Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Russia and the three Baltic States—Lithuania, Esthonia and Latvia—considered *en bloc* as a Baltic power, should be signatories of a regional pact framed under the League and guaranteeing the integrity of territory and promises of mutual assistance if need be by force of arms.

It is seen at once that this Barthou scheme would take away much of the exaggerated idealism which has elaborated the various conventions framed at Geneva. The Oriental Pact would constitute an effective organization.

France promises its guarantee to the pact and in compensation Russia must guarantee the stipulations of Locarno. Thus a vast pacific edifice may arise in Europe.

In the West peace now reposes on the Treaty of Locarno. In the East it may be founded on this new bastion, the Oriental Pact. France, Russia and Germany would be parties to both arrangements and would thus serve as a foundation for these two courts of European order.

With the West and East in a continuous network of "accords" all the powers gathered within the meshes would be immobilized in peace and in the *status quo*. By this also the French Government would crown its work of peace with a collective organization of Europe in the frame of the League. It is Briandism pure and simple but Briandism more humanized and rendered practical by its descent from the clouds. The great decisions of the Allies in 1919

would be confirmed; the stipulations of Versailles, largely retouched in all that concerns reparations and economics, would remain intact on the vital question of frontiers. Security therefore would be assured. The preparation of this security constitutes, as Barthou recognized at London, a susceptible element afterwards to facilitate disarmament. But despite the insistence of Simon—to which Barthou made direct allusion in his recent speech at Bayonne—the French Government has absolutely refused strictly to corollate the two subjects or to admit a rigid dependence between the conclusion of the Oriental Pact and disarmament.

In the French mind the signature of this accord is only a step, interesting no doubt, but not decisive, for disarmament. No further discussion is possible on this point. The talk at London was profound and often bitter, but Barthou remained firm.

In soliciting the adhesion of England to the Oriental Pact France desired to take but another step in the way she has gone since 1924.

The thesis of the *Quai d'Orsay* is well understood. The maintenance of peace is tied to the frontiers drawn at Versailles because no government in Europe can be favorable to benevolent concessions—abandonments or exchanges—that eventually might necessitate recourse to arms.

In view of the policy of alliances held by others but set aside by England, no alternative remains other than collective organizations founded on the principle of mutual assistance. The constitution of antagonistic *blocs* may be set aside. Finally this collective organization as now planned by France should, in order to establish trust, have a solemn and voluntary affirmation of the territorial statutes of Versailles. This should include, directly or indirectly, the five great powers, England, France, Germany, Russia and Italy, and then the groups of secondary powers. Thus all Europe will have sworn fidelity to peace.

Although this policy is fully in the French tradition, France offers no opposition to the British doctrine—if the benevolence of England for the Oriental Pact does not bind her to new juridical obligations. It is easy therefore to imagine that Great Britain in becoming a sort of god-mother to the new-born pact conceals her thoughts somewhat, especially in regard to Warsaw, Rome and Berlin. Great Britain may continue to view the Oriental Pact as a prologue to disarmament.

For Sir John Simon, security is already secured in the West by Locarno. Tomorrow he hopes that it will be the same in the East, covered by the Oriental Pact, and later by a Mediterranean pact. Then he may not hesitate to place atop the new edifice the statue of Mars disarmed.

His speech of the 13th of July to the House of Commons showed this interpretation of his talks with Barthou. This version was adopted with warmth by Mussolini. At bottom, there remains grave divergence of view between the two Occidental powers in that they have only equivocal accord, more or less voluntary. Under these conditions many in France ask why Barthou engaged in his perilous enterprise of forming the Oriental Pact—an enterprise which will necessitate long and sinuous negotiations, which risks misunderstanding with Poland and which even in the hypothesis of success constitutes an illusionary security in the case of bad faith by any contracting party—in brief, a security of not sufficiently high carat gold as to warrant an imprudent disarmament campaign.

It was necessary then that Barthou have strong reasons for starting out upon such a rocky road.

His reasons are that in addition to his personal desire for activity the government which he represents does not really wish to give the aspect of being only a power of negation and interdiction. France does desire to do constructive work, and for this reason Barthou wished to carry on the work begun in 1924 by Briand and by Herriot. Concerning the peaceful intentions of that work, there can be no doubt.

But the key to the enigma must be sought at Moscow. Since Louis XIV and Peter the Great all succeeding regimes in France have sought the coöperation of the great Muscovite power, which following the Turkish decadence seemed the only one capable of preserving an equilibrium with Germanism as represented by the House of Austria, Prussia, or the German Reich. France will never forget that the three capitulations of Paris, 1814, 1815 and 1871, were obtained, the first two by the help, and the third by the benevolent neutrality, of Russia.

The *Quai d'Orsay* viewed with disquiet the German-Russian agreement at Rapallo, and France at once entered into a more than friendly relationship with Poland. Even so Russia remained a sort of bugaboo up to the moment of Hitlerism. The French General Staff believed that Russia had become an arsenal for Germany—a store room for munitions and stocks forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles. Also that in case of war, German instructors in Russia could secure human gun fodder in unlimited quantities. Above all, France realized that the German-Russian accord was entirely logical. Both powers had the same revisionist designs.

France saw with relief therefore the *volte-face* accomplished by Hitler when he extended to the foreign representatives of Marxism—the U.S.S.R.—the crusade that he launched against Communism in Germany. The *Führer* was led on by the dream of colonizing meridional Russia which would permit him to exchange territory with Poland, and at the same time open new markets to German industry. This division of territory constitutes in reality the principal point in the recent treaty between Germany and Poland. Germany would get back the Corridor and Poland would be satisfied at the expense of Russia.

As soon as her Eastern frontier was menaced Russia could not ignore the Japanese peril on the Asiatic front. The U.S.S.R. risked being caught between two adversaries who would synchronize their efforts.

Russia does not pretend that her army is more than a formidable police force, rather than a great modern military machine. In case of a double attack she could foresee the strong possibility of defeat, the loss of her prestige and the ruin of her industry.

These are the real and good reasons for bringing Russia into the Gallic camp. Yesterday powerful revisionist and Francophobe, today anti-revisionist and Francophile. Hitler has today taken the place of the French capitalist in the Russian caricatures of the crocodile.

The negotiations for Franco-Russian *rapprochement* necessitated much diplomacy and guile. Herriot first made a sentimental trip to Moscow. Military *attachés* were then sent to both embassies. The French Air Minister made a sensational flight to the Russian capital. The Soviet

(Continued on page 63)

Economic War Reports

Compiled by Edward H. Collins

American Front

THE SHIP that is the New Deal, after enjoying more than a year of smooth sailing, has finally, it appears, had its first test of stormy weather. When the experiment was first launched, back in the spring of 1933, it got off to a sensational start. The President's monetary policies created what amounted to a guaranteed bull market, especially in farm commodities. Meanwhile, business men sought to turn out as much of everything as they could before the NRA and the AAA should get in their price-raising effects. The combination of these two factors drove the index of business from 42 per cent of normal in April to more than 75 per cent, and it raised the index of industrial production to 100 per cent normal. Needless to say, though many persons may have questioned the policies of the New Deal, there were few to raise their voices so long as business and the markets were zooming upwards. Nor was there any great complaint when this speculative rise brought a reaction and business activity slipped off to 55 per cent of normal in November. As if to compensate for this unseasonal behavior, the spring rise set in unusually early, and carried through until the first week in May, when the business index stood at 63 per cent. Since that time, however, there has been a steady decline, and by mid-September the index had fallen to 50.8 per cent. This is still substantially above the April, 1933, bottom, when the country's business was virtually at a standstill as a result of the closing of the banks, but it is only about 3 points above the low of July, 1932. This steady summer and early fall recession constitutes the first serious challenge to the New Deal. It has drawn the issue clearly more sharply than at any time previously between those who wish to push

on with the policy of experimentation and huge spending and those who wish to return "before it is too late," to a policy calculated to restore confidence in private enterprise.

Argentine Sector

ARGENTINA, the only South American country that has succeeded in meeting to the letter the terms of its debt agreements, internal and external, throughout the entire depression, seems at last to be coming into its reward. As a result of the country's splendid financial record it has found it possible, by a series of loan conversions, to effect a saving of \$18,000,000 annually in its fixed expenses, while it has reduced its floating from \$102,000,000 to \$25,000,000, or by more than 75 per cent. On top of all this, as if to show its appreciation of Argentina's fine effort, nature has suddenly beamed on the country with broad smiles. Argentina will reap a large grain crop this year when the rest of the world is experiencing unusually short crops and when prices are higher than they have been in several years. Grain exports, on the basis of prices prevailing in mid-September, will have a value of about \$530,000,000 during the coming year, or double the figure for the year just ended. Higher prices for meat, hides, and wool, combined with this rise in grain prices, will bring, it is expected, \$300,000,000 additional to the credit side of the 1934-1935 international balance sheet. The abrupt recovery of Argentina, chiefly through her exports, is reminiscent of that of 1879 in this country, when our bumper wheat crop, coupled with an unprecedented shortage of grain in Europe enabled us finally to break an eight-year-long depression.

British Sector

THE MOST NOTEWORTHY FEATURE of the British trade situation is the fall in sterling against the two leading gold currencies, the franc and the dollar. The drop in the pound to a record low against the franc and to around the \$5.00 level against the dollar comes too close after the numerous statements that Britain must look to foreign trade for further business improvement to be more than a coincidence. Otherwise, Britain has pecked away at small things. The differences between the Lancashire cotton industry and Australia, which raised cotton duties in the last budget under the old guise of fostering home industry, seemed on a fair way to amicable settlement, rendering the second anniversary of the Ottawa agreement a more encouraging affair than it otherwise would have been. What improvement has taken place in British exports has been within the Empire and with the countries with which trade agreements have been signed, namely, the Argentine, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Estonia, Iceland, France, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia and, most recently, Holland. The last named agreement provides merely that Holland and Britain shall no longer discriminate against each other. A Liberal member of the House of Commons reminded Mr. Runciman, on the subject of reciprocal trade agreements, that a pact with the United States would be worth all of the other agreements put together. Britain has dispatched a party of financial, industrial and commercial leaders to Manchukuo to talk trade. Sir John Simon has broached to the United States the subject of an international conference looking to a cut in merchant marine subsidies, a subject of ever increasing seriousness to the British people.

French Front

A SHOWDOWN is expected in France either this fall or winter. Before spring the policies of the present government will have been put to such a test that the country can make up its mind whether it will turn definitely to depreciation or deflation. The reasons for saying this are several. The Parliamentary wrestling with the budget begins in October, and out of this tussle anything may come. The taxpayers, as the February riots showed, are anything but receptive to tax increases, and those whom governmental economy would hit have shown no deficiency in Gallic fire. A balanced budget is essential to a confident maintenance of the gold standard. The winter holds out a bleak prospect for the unemployed. From them demonstrations are to be expected which it may test the diplomacy of the government to handle. The hotel business is without money and without hope; the export trades are being steadily strangled. The odds, therefore, favor a final threshing out of the French monetary policy before winter's traces are set upon by the hounds of spring. Economically, financially and politically, it is the most important event on the fall and winter international calendar. The cause of the orthodox, the deflationists, in this tug of war is handicapped by the fact that the Doumergue Cabinet's grip on the popular imagination has weakened, what with the way the government has refused to air the Stavisky case openly, and the government's discomfiture will not be lessened by the drumfire for devaluation which Messrs. Reynaud and Patenotre are keeping up. Like Britain and Japan, the government is preparing to grant a subsidy to finance experiments for hydrogenation of coal to produce oil. The "Buy French" movement is being aided by an official requirement that a new long list of products bear marks of origin.

German Front

THE DEVELOPMENTS in the German trade situation in recent weeks are best summed up in the following newspaper headline of recent date: "Reich to Glorify Hunger as Virtue." Germany has installed the most rigid system of control over trade, both foreign and domestic, ever imposed by a state professing to adhere to the capitalistic system. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht is being given an opportunity to translate some

of his blustery, man-eating words into actions in the Ministry of Economics. No imports are to be permitted without permission of the state, except those which can be arranged on credit, and the nation is fostering the negotiation of barter arrangements. Coffee is being brought in from Brazil on barter contracts, and an agreement has been concluded with Bulgaria to take tobacco in exchange for German industrial products worth 19,000,000 marks. Discussions are being held with Guatemala and Mexico for barter deals. The Hamburg Chamber of Commerce, in an effort to stimulate and attract foreign trade its way, has established a special division to help German importers and exporters to arrange barter agreements. But, in spite of the multi-form import barriers, German takings of foreign goods decreased only 6 per cent in August, while exports, in spite of the bending of every national energy toward their increase, were higher by only 4 per cent. The glorifying of hunger is to be the sugar coating for the array of substitute foods to be foisted on German nationals this winter owing to the shortage of foreign exchange. Clothing, automobile tires, coffee, gasoline and butter, among a hundred other things, are to be adulterated, and prohibitions have been raised against the use of many of the common metals. Even wedding rings cannot be of gold.

Italian Front

FOR THE PURPOSE of encouraging and facilitating Austro-Italian trade, the powerful Banca Commerciale Italiana, which stands in a close relation with the Italian government, has bought a Vienna branch. Thus is the Italian political sway over Austria to be backed up with solid financial and economic ties. Though Italy strives to improve its trade relations with Austria, this is done more as mother country to colony. For it is a fact being borne in on the Italian consciousness that foreign trade, in the old sense, is disappearing from our midst. No sooner did the Italians pare down the prive level than they found their efforts nullified by the erection of new restrictions against them by foreign nations. The "corporate state," therefore, is concentrating more energetically on the solution of the nation's problems on a domestic basis. Those who wish to establish new industrial plants or to expand old ones must get permission from the

state, and this permission is being given chiefly to those concerns engaged in the production of goods heretofore imported largely from abroad, such as those in the chemical, metallurgical and machine industries. Also, Premier Mussolini is contemplating the expulsion of women from Italian industry and the filling of their jobs by drawing on the ranks of the male unemployed, thereby enabling, says Mussolini's newspaper, "a legion of men to lift humiliated heads." The government has recently conferred on itself the power to license imports because of the growing restrictions on foreign trade imposed by other countries.

Belgium Sector

BELGIUM HAS REAPPEARED in the news of international trade by the announcement of the State Department at Washington that it was planning to negotiate a trade treaty with that nation. American exports to Belgium fell from \$115,000,000 in 1929 to \$43,000,000 in 1933, while imports into this country from Belgium declined from \$74,000,000 to \$23,000,000 in those years. This announcement comes at a time when Belgium, where the deflationary process of staying on gold is now taking a severe economic toll, is making an effort to revive its trade with methods which have some New Deal earmarks, such as an overhaul of the banking system and the supplying of long term credit to industry at low rates. But the revival policy includes also a plan to reduce the tax burden resting on production and distribution and an easing of the financial load on private industry by a whittling away of service charges on debt. Public hearings on the proposed Belgian agreement will be held in Washington on October 29. In the discussions over the treaty the United States may have to do most of the conceding, since Belgium already buys twice as much as it sells to this country. A return to a program calling for a larger exchange of goods with the rest of the world befits Belgium better than the ultra-nationalism which some elements in that nation have been going in for in the last year or two. One of the more absurd of these measures was the deportation of foreign workers so that their jobs could be filled with Belgians. This short sighted policy had the result of causing neighboring countries to send home the Belgian workers.

(Continued on page 59)

The Labor Wars

Since the advent of the present Administration at Washington there have been 1,500 active walkouts and some 4,000 labor disputes. There follows a summary of the present state of labor unrest over the nation:

CHIEF AMONG RECENT AMERICAN STRIKES which was called off on Sept. 24, was the textile walkout ordered by the United Textile Workers of America on September 1. It has involved more men, closed more factories and slowed production more extensively than any labor dispute within the past decade. Around it has centered enough bitterness, violence and death to match any working class struggle in a turbulent history of disputes. For a parallel one must go back to the great steel strike of 1919, when post-war discontent flared to active battle between unions, employers and government.

Like all important industrial struggles, the textile strike had its genesis in conditions existing over a period of months. The walkout called was by men and women workers who felt that every possible means to peaceful settlement of their grievances had been exhausted, and that only the final weapon of the strike remained.

First rumblings of the approaching strike were heard as early as April and May of this year. The NRA had cut production 25 per cent, the industry suffering from surplus output. Basic wage rates were not generally raised to compensate the employees, and under the Code minimum of \$12 and \$13 weekly, they claimed violations. More radical workers wanted to strike then, but union leaders accepted NRA's promise to place a union representative on the Code Authority and to appoint a Board for complete study of wages, hours and working conditions. At this time, the United Textile Workers put forward its general demands, which have remained substantially the same during the strike. These were: (1) Recognition of the United Textile Workers of America (UTWA), which claimed an increase in member-

ship from 40,000 to 200,000. (2) 33.3 per cent basic wage rise, on the ground that the production cut had reduced Code rate to \$6 and \$7 weekly. (3) 30-hour week, with no reduction in basic pay—i.e., 40 hours pay for 30 hours work. (4) Decrease in machine load per worker. (5) No pay differentials.

The promised representation on the Code Authority did not come. The report of the Board found "no factual or statistical basis for any general increase in cotton textile code wage rates." The study of the stretch-out system recommended no changes. The UTWA convention, meeting in August, voted the strike order by a majority of 500 to 10 delegates. Francis Gorman, vice-president of the union, announced the date for September 1.

In the meantime the employers were presenting their case, first through General Johnson and then through George A. Sloan, chairman of the Cotton Institute and of the Code Authority. General Johnson's statement pictured the Cotton Code as both first and best of the Blue Eagle's efforts. Seconded by Mr. Sloan, he pointed to a 70 per cent rise in labor costs, 34 per cent rise in employment, and in defense of the NRA wage finding, to a 150 per cent rise in material costs through the processing tax. The UTWA replied that the contemplated strike was in reality to enforce the Code, that the 25 per cent production cut had been used by employers to justify mass lay-offs and greatly increased stretch-out. Mr. Sloan again replied that the industry had re-employed 140,000 workers, and that the stretch-out was not harmful, indeed often a benefit to the workers. Gorman came back to the attack by citing U. S. Bureau of Labor statistics to show a loss of 32,000 in employment during the three months from June to August.

During this word and figure duel, the Administration refused to intervene directly to bring about a settlement before the strike should break out. This

was a reversal of former policy, when President Roosevelt had stepped in to avert the threatened automobile and steel strikes earlier in the season. The Administration was evidently willing to force a showdown between the UTWA and the Cotton Institute, and would not even order an election to test the union's claim under Section 7-a. One effort toward peace was made, however, in the President's order to the cotton garment industry to cut hours 10 per cent and to raise wages by the same figure. This order, effecting 200,000 workers, has not yet been carried out.

Considerable talk has been spent on the question of relief for strikers. Harry L. Hopkins, in charge of FERA, first stated that relief would be extended to all strikers—a statement that caused much excitement among those who feared the government was about to begin financing the class struggle. Later Mr. Hopkins put the apprehensive more at ease by announcing that relief would go only to strikers whose walkout was considered justified by the Department of Labor. This was again modified by a statement that only those strikers who were destitute would be relieved—and since a striker can always go back to work, destitution on strike will be hard to establish. UTWA officials, however, were counting on Federal aid, since their treasury contained only \$1,000,000 to meet an estimated strike cost of \$1,000,000 per week. Incidentally, the A. F. of L., which maintains rival cotton unions, announced a policy of moral but not financial help, promising to lend organizers but no cash.

The Cotton Institute on the eve of the strike refused to meet with UTWA officials on the ground that the strike was against the NRA and therefore an act of war against the government. Mr. Sloan, its director, also refused to grant jurisdiction to the National Labor Relations Board, holding that the issue could only be settled by the Cotton Code Authority—which the

Institute controls. UTWA officials responded with a direct appeal to President Roosevelt for mediation, basing the plea on the fact that promised representation on the Authority and on the Board had not been realized.

This was the background of negotiation before the strike—a record of charge and counter-charge. The physical set-up of the two forces can perhaps best be given in tabular form. On August 31, there were:

300,000	cotton workers, half in the south and half in the north.
100,000	workers in the UTWA.
850	companies making cotton.
1,280	mills.
31,000,000	spindles.
26,000,000	spindles normally operating.
2 to 8 weeks'	supplies of finished goods on hand in the mills.
\$1,000,000	in the UTWA treasury.

On the first day of the strike, UTWA called out the worsted, wool and silk workers, bringing total of workers affected to 625,000—of a grand total of workers in textile and allied trades of 1,000,000. Strikes are, of course, not 100 per cent effective the first day, but vice-president Gorman promised to have at least 250,000 of this total out of the mills before the week was over. Early in this period, the strike was strongest in the South, where conditions were more adverse for the workers. Several setbacks to the strike movement occurred in New England, particularly in the Fall River district, where loom-fixers (key mechanics) refused to come out—thus allowing strikebreakers to work more readily.

Violence broke out almost at once. Two days before the strike date, National Guardsmen had been mobilized in North and South Carolina, where picketing was expected to be most militant. First casualties took place in Georgia, when two pickets were killed by troops in an assault on a mill.

As usual in a labor dispute, both sides claimed widely divergent figures for the number of men out. In the first week, UTWA claimed 300,000, while the Institute put the total at 92,000. Since the U. S. government does not maintain a central labor exchange, no accurate count seems possible. By the end of the second week, however, an Associated Press survey put the total at 401,000, of 752,000 employed before the strike began.

Steps to settlement were finally taken by President Roosevelt when he appointed a mediation board of three—Marion Smith of Georgia, a mill owner; Governor Winant of New Hampshire and Robert Ingersoll of New York, the last two known as liberals. Strike leader Gorman's proposal that all mills be closed until a settlement was reached was rejected by the Cotton Institute, though the Governor of Rhode Island lent some support to this when he ordered mills in disturbed centres closed. Mills in the south announced a forcible re-opening for the third week of the strike, mobilizing ten thousand troops and other thousands of armed deputies. The President's board announced that it would prepare a study of the situation—no doubt hoping that they would be able to study fast enough to keep up with the situation itself.

Two weeks after its hurried appointment, the President's Board completed its study. Stating that the brief time available for the work allowed only the broadest issues to be considered, the Board prepared a series of recommendations for Presidential action. Chief of these was immediate cessation of the strike, with employers pledged to take back all strikers without prejudice. On the central issue of collective bargaining, the Board straddled with a proposal for individual mill negotiation between workers and employers—a move that would put the UTWA out of the running as a dominant union. A new permanent agency, to be called the Textile Labor Relations Board was recommended, its first task to be a detailed study of wages, hours and working conditions. A study of the economic status of the industry was commended to the Federal Trade Commission. On the stretch-out question, the Board recommended a "work assignments control board" which would prohibit further increase in machine load per worker until February 1, 1935, after which increases would be permitted provided labor agreed and provided no extra burden were placed on the individual worker.

It is obvious that the Mediation Board's report was not designed to meet labor's demands. Cessation of the strike will hardly be accepted by UTWA officials, who so far have guided the dispute with considerable skill and success. A return to work under the old conditions, with no prospect of change until another board

completes another study, is not likely to appeal to the hundreds of thousands of men on strike against what they believe to be intolerable conditions.

The cotton textile strike is a general strike, and, as such, a major campaign in the industrial war. Starting comparatively weak, the UTWA was able to call out nearly three-quarters of the total textile working force, and to shut down nearly 80 per cent of the mills. So far the strike has not spread to other lines, though leader Gorman has called on transport workers to prevent cotton imports from reaching the country—already enormous orders have been placed abroad. (Curiously enough the English Trade Union Congress has expressed cordial sympathy with the strike, while allowing unionists to work on the American orders.) There has been plenty of violence, but to date without the vigilante hysteria displayed in the San Francisco general strike. Both sides accuse the other of promoting the violence—and both sides are ranged for desperate battle. Government has put itself in an unpleasant position, since it can be said that both sides are struggling around the NRA—the strikers, for enforcement of the Code and realization of the seemingly unfulfillable promises of Section 7a, and the Institute for continued dominance of the Code Authority.

The strikers have won an early round in the jacquard division of the industry, where their demands for a shorter week and the retention of wage scales have been met. They have lost a round in failing to bring out the silk workers, where employers secured an injunction on the basis of a previous contract. Public sentiment has seemed slightly in favor of the strikers, and efforts to stir up a red scare to alienate this sympathy have so far failed. Perhaps the public is growing calloused to strikes. If the UTWA can keep the issue centred on compliance with the Code and the NRA, not only public sympathy but the solidarity of the strike itself will be better maintained. It is always easier to struggle when you can believe your cause upheld by law.

Settled Disputes

CHIEF OF THE SETTLED DISPUTES in the past few weeks is the final ending of the truckmen's strike in Minneapolis.

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The Turn of a Screw

by Robert R. Doane

This is the final article in a series of three by Mr. Doane discussing the findings of the NSPPC.

WHAT light have the facts, as set forth in the previous two articles in this series, discussing the findings of the NSPPC, cast upon the immediate problem facing the American economy? After all, as we enter the fourth consecutive month of a renewed business recession, the solution of this quandary remains our most persistent task.

If a survey of this character has accomplished nothing more than that of disabusing our minds of the fallacious illusion underlying the concept of a surplus economy it has then been a valuable contribution toward the restoration of a sane approach to our major problem.

It has also supplied an invaluable measure of our *limitations* (a liability we have reluctantly left unacknowledged) in terms of restrictive forces which are purely physical in their nature, and over which no amount of institutional change can have effect. In other words such a diagnosis clearly reveals the futility of an entire economy undergoing all of the inherent dangers of a major operation, in an attempt to alter its constitution, for purposes of accomplishing that which would be unattainable under any form or system of social control.

And last, it has brought to light—in terms of “bottle-necks” and unbalanced development of capacities—the relative abilities of our entire network of interdependent industrial, commercial and agricultural activities.

In the light of this information we are, at least, in a position to draw certain significant conclusions, and to plan an attack upon the forces making for continued retrogression, far more effectively than the spectacular and hysterical experimental sallies of the recent past.



The findings, as outlined in my two previous articles, relate to underlying and fundamental issues in which all Americans—wage and salaried workers, professional men and women, property owners, business men and public officials—are jointly vitally interested. Any attempt to swim past such a panorama and deny its reality through repression is assuredly not a satisfactory solution of

any situation. Such behavior, regardless of individual interests, immediately brings to the fore the historical problem of social sanity. Sanity and the realities of life are inseparable entities. If this were not true we survivors of the human race would not only never have seen—but would be unable to again see—the fair crown of reason.

These realities, these hard facts—regardless of varied patterns of their interpretation—have disclosed that we had *not* yet reached in 1929 a degree of universal well-being anywhere near approaching that age of abundance about which mankind loves so well to dream. Also that our so-called excess capacity, at the close of the golden decade following the World War, was actually less than at the beginning. And, further, that this reserve capacity represented no *new* development, but has been an indispensable and essential accompanying phenomenon inherent within the economy throughout our entire industrial history.

Also our total annual production is not an isolated phenomenon only indirectly related to our common well-being, but is in fact our real total annual income. And no matter what forms of artificial stimulation, through experimental monetary measures, the final satisfaction of human wants cannot be attained unless, and until, the material goods themselves are first produced. And, what is of even greater importance, if we are to attain at as early a period as possible the desired resumption of the 1928-1929 volume of production—we *must discard our present day-dreams of an extension of leisure time*, with an enforced 30-hour week as the alternative to our imagined excessive ability to produce goods.

Since the publication of the first article in this series the Brookings Institution of Washington, D. C., have completed their exhaustive studies covering America's capacity to consume. The findings of this independent scientific body have completely corroborated, almost in toto, the findings of this survey. Their major conclusions, arrived at entirely separate and independent from the work of this survey, may be summarized as follows:

1. *During the so-called “new era” of the gay twenties the United States was not living beyond its means.*
2. *Vast potential demands alike for basic commodities and for conventional necessities exist in the unfulfilled wants of the masses of the people, both rural and urban.*
3. *The United States has not reached a stage of economic development in which it is possible to produce more than the American people as a whole would like to consume.*
4. *We cannot materially shorten the working day and*

still produce the quantity of goods and services which the American people aspire to consume.

5. In emphasizing the need of increasing consumption, we must not forget the necessity of simultaneously expanding production.

And to again reiterate these vastly important facts we quote the following significant findings:

"If we have a 30-hour working week, with complete utilization of our labor force and productive establishment, and then assume a universal increase in efficiency in agriculture, mining, manufacturing, transportation, marketing, and other branches of industry of as much as 25 per cent, we would still have a productive output considerably smaller than in 1929. Unless we can be sure of a vast increase in productive efficiency the working day cannot be appreciably shortened without a curtailment of production, and, in consequence, without reducing consumption standards below the level of 1929."

And in any event, as the Brookings Institution has so well stated, we are desirous of raising the standard of living in America substantially above the level hitherto realized—and not in merely restoring it to the unsatisfactory level then prevailing.

Again I repeat my statement made in an earlier article in this series: the only abundance to be found today in America is that of work yet to be done. And the quicker we get down to it—and stop chasing butterflies in the New Deal's mad-man's paradise—the better for us all.

I am fully aware that the world of men, notwithstanding countless rebuffs, continues to belong to the man of hope. I know that hope is the great energizing agent that keeps us all moving forward. But it is only the hope that is mixed with practical realities, and their understanding, which ultimately becomes what men call vision. Dissociated ideas, concepts and acts that do not hang together, create an undisciplined human expectancy—regardless of their ideals and vehemence of hope—that becomes the tragic antithesis of vision. Dreams of the magic in turning countless screws down interminable corridors of coördinated machines for a limitless production of goods, for our delectation, can be conjured up by any high-school boy. But unfortunately for us all the cold white light of practical reality steals in to spoil the fun before half our screws can be adjusted. No newly invented Mechanical Goliath is going to trample down either the institutions or the eternal figure of man. And radicals, liberals, conservatives, Tories, the "haves" and "the have-nots," Republicans and Democrats can all profit considerably by keeping this simple fact in mind.

For the past century and a half, power machinery and a continued succession of mechanical inventions have multiplied enormously the productive abilities and efficiency of mankind. It was commonplace knowledge a full decade ago that the laborer of this generation enjoys luxuries unknown to monarchs of earlier centuries. We have seen throughout this past period, demand expanding with supply, we have seen consumption expanding with production.

Our one-hundred and twenty-five million people consume vastly more than the five-hundred million Chinese with their low productive capacity. Why has our total national income increased so greatly in proportion to so many other economies of the world? The answer is self-evident. We consume more because we produce more. *Our capacity to consume moves parallel with our capacity to produce.*

With these aids of machines, of power, and of increased human knowledge and efficiency, we have been able to place a long list of increasing living comforts into American homes to the following extent:

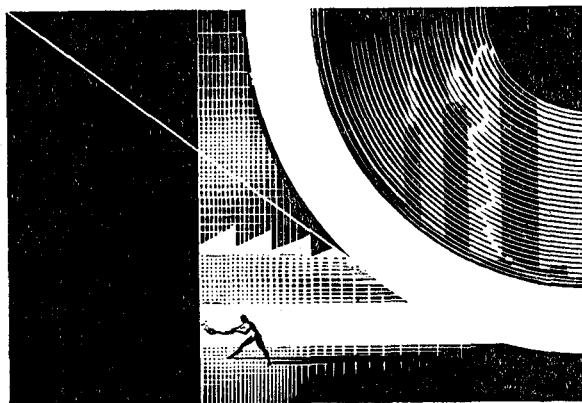
(All figures are as of 1929)

Items	Number	Per cent saturation
Total number of families	29,476,555	100.00%
1. Total number of dwellings.....	24,188,052	82.06
2. Sewing machines.....	23,581,244	80.00
3. Water system supply.....	22,102,990	74.98
4. Electricity.....	19,967,154	67.74
5. Flat-irons, electric.....	18,538,000	62.89
6. Automobiles.....	18,497,271	62.75
7. Bath rooms.....	16,931,636	57.48
8. Gas ranges.....	13,318,000	45.14
9. Telephones.....	12,894,000	43.74
10. Refrigerators, old style.....	11,600,000	39.35
11. Gas, manufactured.....	11,532,000	39.12
12. Radios.....	10,500,000	35.62
13. Furnaces and heating systems.....	9,675,221	32.65
14. Vacuum cleaners.....	8,610,000	29.21
15. Pianos, organs, musical instruments..	8,577,000	29.09
16. Electric toasters.....	7,325,000	24.88
17. Washing machines.....	6,585,000	22.34
18. Electric fans.....	5,800,000	19.67
19. Percolators.....	5,750,000	19.51
20. Natural gas.....	5,116,000	17.36
21. Electric heaters.....	3,185,000	10.80
22. Refrigerators, mechanical.....	1,850,000	6.27
23. Electric cookers.....	1,175,000	3.99
24. Electric ranges.....	875,000	2.97
25. Fuel-oil burners.....	510,000	1.73

Here, then, is our inventory covering the living standards of our people insofar as they relate to the luxuries of modern life. It will be immediately noted that there is an abundance of room for improvement. It will also be noted that these goods wear out, and that the demand for their replacement is continuous. As the population expands this replacement demand alone is gigantic and adds vastly to the economy's industrial stability. The classic expression of Mill still holds—capital is not conserved by preservation alone, but by its reproduction.

Now with this domestic consumer equipment things were moving along not altogether so badly prior to 1929. Looking back over this past a striking characteristic has been the tendency of rising wages in contrast to commodity prices—and in consequence a widening disparity between workers' incomes and the cost of the necessities of life permitted this great expansion in living comforts.

Back of all this production, with its greatly increased





spending power, was the accompanying expansion of our circulating medium in terms of money and bank deposits. And here we soon discovered another great truth. *The relative inelasticity of business and trade to credit volume.* That is, that an unduly rapid expansion of credit and monetary purchasing power can lead only to a very moderate increase in our total physical produc-

tion. When the practical maximum of employment is reached, further expansion of monetary purchasing power leads only to enhanced prices for the existing current product, or for land and securities. This is an elementary fact—but it is one that is all too frequently lost from view.

Accompanying this expansion in the employment of physical goods for increasing home comforts there came a vast expansion in consumer demand for services. In fact this increase in services, as distinguished between goods, has been the outstanding feature of change in the national standard of living. These services include doctors, dentists, surgeons, nurses, hospitalization, teachers, preachers, musicians, actors, lecturers, artists, lawyers, barbers, manicurists, chiropodists, masseurs, beauty specialists, hairdressers, morticians, household domestic servants, cleaners, dyers, laundrers, pressers, garage services, car servicing, financial services, and all forms of other household, personal and recreational services. Coincident with this vast increase in services has been the over-shadowing growth of government as a public service to all of the people.

To fully grasp the significance of these great changes let us look, for a moment, at our census of occupation figures. Here is graphically portrayed the shifts which have occurred in so far as they relate to an economy's gainful occupation resulting from swift changes in cultural standards of advance. For purposes of condensation we present below the percentage distribution of our gainfully occupied engaged in all divisions of production and services from 1880 to 1930 inclusive:

SHIFT IN OCCUPATIONS, 1880-1930

Production:	1880	1900	1910	1920	1930
Agriculture, lumbering, fisheries.	49.4	37.5	33.1	26.2	21.9
Manufacturing and mining.....	25.6	29.1	34.9	33.4	30.9
Total engaged in production	75.0	66.6	68.0	59.6	52.8
Services:					
Trade, clerical, communications, and transportation	12.2	18.7	21.0	25.1	28.6
Professional services	3.5	4.2	4.5	5.2	6.7
Other public and personal service	9.3	10.6	6.6	9.9	11.9
Total engaged in services...	25.0	33.5	32.1	40.2	47.2

The increase in total numbers of gainfully occupied during this period approximated 182 per cent; whereas the increase in those attached to physical production was 98 per cent while those engaged purely in services increased 435 per cent over the same period.

Here, then, has been a shift of great importance, not only in the ways of living, but in its economic significance.

Especially does this phenomena become noted when we view the situation from the standpoint of our disposal of the total annual national income. The outstanding point to note is that the proportion of the total income generated annually as a result of physical production has declined steadily, while the proportion of the consumer dollar going to services has increased from one quarter of the whole to approximately one half. In actual monetary figures, the increase over this period, of expenditures for services as related to goods, has been even more pronounced. And, as a matter of fact, this year of 1934 will witness from three-fifths to three-quarters of the entire national income going into services alone.

Of course, the total money payments of consumers are determined by their income. And the sum of all these individual incomes constitute what is usually regarded as the total national income. Yet upon tracing this income back to its original source we find that it has been the result of the expenditures of the aggregate economy in meeting the various cost factors of the productive and distributive system. Thus the entire process of the original formation of our income falls completely within this field of physical production, and is, upon final analysis, determined by it. The amounts paid by consumers for purely consumer services constitute a *dilution* of their income—that is, a dilution to the extent to which they consume services. In this connection it will be borne in mind that all renderers of services, such as doctors, dentists, ministers, lawyers and teachers, also consume consumers' goods. And in the total value of consumer product purchased annually is also included that part purchased by those who render services. Therefore in all statistical compilations which list our total expenditures for both goods and services, and accept this grand total as representing the current monetary value of our total national income, an inescapable duplication occurs.

Not only is this duplication obvious, but as further proof that such is true we have the opportunity of checking the spread between total consumer expenditures and total consumer income with that of our total annual savings. The two figures approximately equal one another. Also since the bulk of all credit and debt increases can only come from these annual savings then it becomes clear that the *credit-income augmentation theory*, as a means of filling the gap, becomes invalid. And once again, by an entirely different route of measurement, we find that the American consumer economy often accused of being guilty of "over-consumption" or of living beyond its means, has no foundation in fact. What has actually occurred has been that of our attempting to maintain a volume of services in excess of our physical productive ability to adequately support.

Since the proportion of the total volume of consumption represented by intangible services has come to be as alarmingly great as it is today, the effect of any additional disproportionate increase in any of its divisions (particularly government as an involuntary service charge) on the quantity of tangible goods that can be paid for, out of a diminished purchasing power, becomes clear at once.

As an illustration let us consider the part played by the distributive services—the services of wholesale and retail merchants, freight transportation, brokers, financiers of instalment purchases, advertising agencies, etc.,—who attend to the *commerce* of our economy and see to the moving of the tangible goods from farm, mine and factory to the consumer. Here is an *instrumental force* of tremendous value.

One quarter of our gainfully occupied are directly concerned in this activity. While these people neither transform, transmute nor directly produce wealth, but are engaged solely in its transfer—yet they may greatly condition wealth itself.

Now the relation which the total volume of services of this character bears to the consumption of tangible goods differs considerably from the corresponding relation borne by the services of government. Most government services may be increased in value without anything like the same absolute increase in the volume of physical commodities used. Whereas any large expansion in the volume of distributive or commercial services must involve an approximate proportionate increase in the demand for goods.

For sake of further illustration let us suppose that during the past twenty years the demand for services other than purely distributive has remained the same, so that out of any additions to the purchasing power of the people a fixed proportion has been available to pay for increased quantities of tangible goods plus the service costs necessary to distribute them. Now in 1914 (20 years ago) 40 cents out of every consumer's dollar went for intangible services, whereas today, 1934, it takes 60 cents. And further keep the fact in mind that there has been during this period a net decline in purchasing power, due to the higher price level still prevailing over that of 1914, of approximately one third. Therefore the consumer today has only 40 cents of his dollar with which he may purchase the producers' goods, as compared with 60 cents 20 years ago. But he now has barely *one third as many dollars as he* had then (on a per capita deflated basis); and 40 per cent of this is equivalent to about 26 cents of his original dollar.

Under such a condition any further increase in the demand for services other than distributive, and especially governmental services, can have only a decisively more limiting effect upon the growth of physical consumption goods. During the past twenty years our total annual expenditures for the services rendered by National, State and local government has increased approximately 400 per cent, or from 4 billion to 20 billion dollars in round numbers. Since 1929 it has increased about 50 per cent. Now whatever figure we put on the growth of individual purchasing power during this same period, this increase in cost of government services must clearly come out of it, while the additional volume of tangible goods that could be purchased is reduced by that much.

The annual consumption of physical consumer goods in 1929 stood at about 60 billion dollars. The growth in this annual consumption as disclosed in my previous articles has been about 200 per cent (in terms of value over a twenty-year period), representing an absolute increase of about 40 billion dollars. As compared with this growth the increase of 16 billion dollars in payments for government services is of the utmost significance. But what is more alarming is the fact that since 1929 the amounts expended for physical goods have *declined* almost 20 billions while amounts expended for government have *increased* almost 7 billions.

It is one of the outstanding tragedies of modern times that the costs of services, in their true relation to national wealth and income, is not better understood. It may well be the submerged rock against which not only the New Deal but our entire Western European civilization may be wrecked.

There is another highly significant element in a national

economy that radical and other irresponsible thinkers leave out of account. That element is *time*. Those who propound the "economy of abundance" concept would have us believe that time is no longer of much importance. They simply would adjust another screw and eliminate it along with anything else that arises to obstruct their childish creations. But the simple fact remains that all production takes time. And this fact is of the utmost importance to every economy. Time, as it relates to physical production, is exceedingly hard to measure. It is almost impossible to assign a point at which the production of a commodity really begins. At every stage in production the coöperation of existing materials and durable goods or means of production must be assumed, and if the origin of all of these are to be counted in the productive process that leads to the final product it becomes impossible to ever get to the actual starting point. Thus it is hopeless to attempt to trace the productive process back to its technical beginning.

Emotional appeals rarely ever take *time* into consideration save only in its superficial sense, while all radical schools of thought place *services* on a parity, if not above, material goods production. Yet both time and services are subject to considerable measure of man's control and as such have come to be looked upon, in a sense, as capital. But there must be a clear distinction when such forms of capital are referred to by any school of thought. Any omission of such distinction, where it ought to be drawn, must necessarily lead to false reasoning—or, as is frequently the case today, is made to conceal false reasoning.

Notwithstanding all of these factors which play so vital a part in the formation and transformation of a nation's capital there has always been a tendency to ignore them. Especially has this been true during the hysterical past half-decade.

And then came the social poisons of *production control*, *price-fixing agreements*, *credit expansion*, and the simultaneous growth of the concept of *autarchy* as it manifested itself through tariff barriers of all nations. All of these four major forces are anti-social in character and represent but the product of mis-information and human stupidity.

Yet, unbelievable as it seems, while we are today still in the grip of the reaction from these anti-social and non-economic doctrines we are attempting economic resuscitation through the application of exactly these very same identical forces that came so near wrecking our civilization—namely (1) production control, (2) price-fixing agreements, (3) artificial credit expansion, and (4) autarchy. Under a new name—the New Deal—we continue blindly the same old doses. It is incredible.

These policies now in vogue have only made more acute our current situation. The road from the farmer to the industrial center has been actually lengthened by the NRA, the AAA, and general mounting tax burdens. The channels of international commerce have been thrown into a state of unprecedented confusion. The relationship between capital, management and labor has been aggravated rather than conciliated.

Under these circumstances an America afraid of production presents a curious spectacle indeed. The fundamental fallacy is based upon the radical revolutionary doctrine of "surplus," and that, therefore, there is only a limited amount of work to be done. No more malicious and effective propaganda making for social harm has ever been loosed upon a people. It fosters a chronic fear of over-production. It serves to foster conflicts between the in-

terests of groups, classes, and even between nations. It fosters and indirectly makes possible the rise to power of a type of leadership that deftly sidesteps the underlying issues, in their appeal to credulity, which in turn forces them—and without alternative—to push human expectancy to curious and socially dangerous extremes.

The mob, ardent strikers, frenzied revivalists, idealistic revolutionists, political paraders and political job holders, all are fed upon the results of such stuff, and breed both additional followers and leaders who *fear to be moderate*, even though they do not know whither their course is taking them. In order, however, for such leadership to maintain their mob following they are also forced to present what appears to be a plan or unified policy. In the absence of clear thinking, based upon a comprehensive knowledge of their own economy, these leaders resort to the appropriation of techniques already applied in other nations. Witness the striking parallel between the pronouncements of Lenin on the eve of the Russian revolution, and that of our own major policy under Roosevelt:

Lenin:	Roosevelt:
1. Unification of all banks into one; national control over all banks.	1. National deposit insurance plan; federal loans to banks; national treasury control of reserve system.
2. Nationalization of the syndicates; monopoly trade associations.	2. Code authority by major trades; relaxation of anti-trust laws encouraging monopoly methods.
3. Compulsory syndication of industrialists, merchants and employers in general.	3. The National Industrial Recovery Act with compulsory powers for non-compliance.
4. Compulsory organization of the population into associations.	4. Agricultural units under the AAA, and other alphabetical activities.

Now witness these amazing parallels between the utterances of Lenin, as a part of his strategy on the eve of

the Russian revolution, and those of Roosevelt in his "fireside" speech of last May:

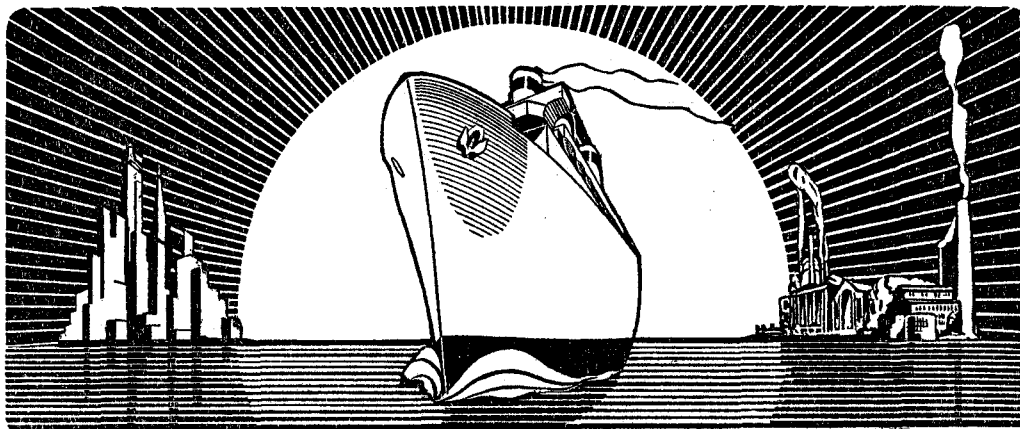
Lenin:
 "A catastrophe is at hand. . . . We must attack our problems in a businesslike, serious manner. . . . It is a tremendous step toward socialism. . . . We must establish a unification of operations between agriculture, industries and our transport facilities."

Roosevelt:
 "Our national economy is dying by inches. . . . We must go into partnership in planning and a partnership to see that the plans are carried out between government and farming, government and industry, government and transportation."

If anyone would care to secure a copy of Lenin's "*Toward the Seizure of Power*," (2 volumes, 654 pages) and read it through carefully they will note a curious similarity between his statements and those which have been emanating from Washington during the past eighteen months. This striking likeness between Lenin's prescriptions and those that have been suggested in Washington may, of course, be nothing more than an accidental circumstance in the history of political thought.

The point to the above recital is illustrative of how *instrumental forces*, which are definitely a part of the resources of a nation, may be employed to change the flow of an economy's income and the character, composition and distribution of its wealth. Whether the needs of the American economy can be best served in such a way, or whether they may be fully as well or better served by a stronger reliance upon private enterprise is one of the most profound decisions confronting our nation today.

Today's knowledge is the last frontier upon which we may hope to found a better order of things. It is dependant upon the employment of scientific methods, of sustained and disinterested thought, and above all it must be related to our own institutions and to our own socially inherited discipline, to our own native character, abilities and resources—and to those of no other economy.



Outlook Book Choice of the Month

Reviewed by Robert Cantwell



42 YEARS IN THE WHITE HOUSE.
By Irwin H. (Ike) Hoover. \$3.50.
331 pp. Boston: Houghton Mifflin
Company.

ONE OF THE BAD LITERARY HABITS of our time has been expressed in the intimate glimpse school of reminiscence—those books about celebrated people written by their doctors, hairdressers, bartenders, dentists, by those whose claim to authority was that they had removed the tonsils of celebrated sufferers, fixed their hair, gotten their divorces or cleaned their teeth. Back in 1929, when, the legend goes, people used to call up bookstores and order new books by the dozen, works of this character were a drug on the market; if you had nothing better to do you could read the life story of the surgeon who had carved up half the crowned heads of Europe, or feed your mind on the anecdotes of the hairdresser who had fingerwaved all of Hollywood's queens from Theda Bara to Billie Dove. If these works sometimes seemed malicious, if the narrators sometimes seemed to be quietly removing the stuffing from our more prominent stuffed-shirts, that was their only important contribution to our social vision.

So it is with Irwin H. (Ike) Hoover's recollections of the time, man and boy, he spent within the White House. There is one serious reason why his book ought to be read by every school-child: it should cure that last American boy of the last vestiges of his desire some day to be President. For Mr. Hoover saw all of the boys who grew up to be Presidents, after they *had* grown up. And due to the curious character of his work, he saw them, not in their historical roles, not as the newspapermen, the politicians, the relatives and friends saw them, but in a peculiar and oblique fashion: he saw them in their embarrassing moments.

Yes, the Presidents of the United

States who figure in this book are nothing if they are not awkward. As Mr. Hoover remembers them, they were just at the point of stumbling, of saying the wrong thing, leaving the room at the wrong time, arriving at inaugurals too early or too late, forgetting money for the collection in church, going in the wrong door, being caught trying to dodge their wives, trying to sneak away from secret service men to have a good time, being rude to servants, chewing tobacco. . . But I can't go on. There has never been another book like this one. Mr. Hoover was Chief Usher from the time of Taft, and before that he was White House electrician from the time of Harrison. And from page 7, on which Benjamin Harrison and his family summon the electrician to switch on those new-fangled electric lights, being afraid of getting a shock if they did it themselves, to page 303, on which Mrs. Herbert Hoover racks her brains trying to figure out how to entertain Mrs. Oscar De Priest, this book is a Golden Treasury of social blunders. The most frequent expression in it is "The aides were greatly embarrassed. . . ." And no wonder.

Here was Coolidge, at a Cabinet Dinner on November 8, 1932, leaving the table before the meal was finished. Greatly mortified, Mrs. Coolidge tried to cover it up by serving candy in the parlor, but this, the Chief Usher records disconsolately, "simply emphasized it." Here was Queen Marie staying put while the aides were almost using force trying to ease her out of the room. Here was Coolidge having his hair cut at breakfast. And Will Rogers arriving for dinner too late to dress, and then admitting—the President and his wife had started to eat anyway, deciding they wouldn't wait any longer—that he'd never owned evening clothes in his life. And

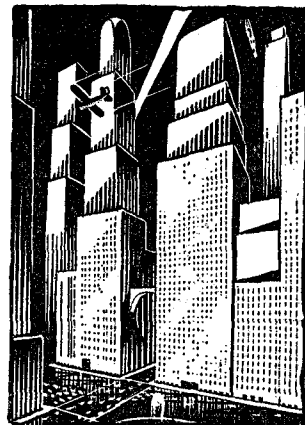
Herbert Hoover offering his arm to Mrs. Gann when he was supposed to escort Mrs. Hoover—what a break! "To relieve the embarrassment that was evident on the part of all," says the Chief Usher, "I quickly stepped over to the side of the President and whispered, 'You take Mrs. Hoover down, sir'." An usher's life was full of problems like that.

There are other things in the book, but you will not remember them in the way that you remember these poignant little embarrassments. Coolidge may be, to history and the editorial writers, the strong, silent man who called out the troops in the police strike, but to the White House staff he was only a petulant little fellow who couldn't whistle because his false teeth didn't fit, and who forced his Secret Service guard to bait the hook when he went fishing. Historians may remember these forty-two years as the period in which America emerged as an imperialist power, an emergence accompanied by two wars and no end of scandals, depressions, panics, riots—within the White House, new embarrassments replaced the old ones. The spectacles became more elaborate and expensive, the daily round became more formal, the staff of servants and armed guards increased, the representatives of the Army and Navy became more conspicuous and numerous at White House functions—and "the problems of the Chief Usher," in Mr. Hoover's words, "increased." It is fascinating reading, no less, even down to the list of dishes served at the State Dinners. You keep waiting, as you count the number of military aides and notice the size of the orchestra, for someone to say, "Let them eat cake." But that *faux pas*, the greatest in all history, hasn't been committed yet in our court.

(Continued on page 57)



Talk of the Nation



Note on Beards

WHISKERS WENT OUT OF FASHION long ago in these progressive United States—in fact, shortly after the War Between the States. Young men of our fathers' generation looked upon them with scorn and amusement; they were either the mark of dotage or the badge of effeminacy, depending on the age of the stubborn ones who might cling to them in spite of advancing thought. A veteran of the Mexican War, for example, might hold fast to a chin concealer if he so desired, for after all the old must be occasionally indulged. Frenchmen could wear whatever shape or kind of beard the Latin taste favored, for it was known that the French were excitable, queer and not a little decadent. But no one else. A young American man with a beard laid himself open to any charge his saner neighbors might lay against him, and naturally enough, no young American wore one. Mustaches were all right enough, provided they were kept out of harm's way by a strict discipline of wax, hot irons and daily trimming. But the face proper, up to and above the ears, had to be kept clear.

Behind the daily ritual of the shave there lay a story of typical and also great American business vision, a romance of wealth and perseverance unexcelled. King C. Gillette was the protagonist, his safety razor the weapon that won a fortune for him and a daily surgical operation for the American public. It has been reliably estimated that Mr. Gillette's image on his little box of blades was reproduced oftener and spread farther than any other in history. Everybody shaved. The Englishman lost in the deepest Africa scraped himself religiously (and doubtless painfully) every morning, if only to maintain the

white man's prestige before the savage tribes. Royal Northwest Mounted Police shaved (in ice water) on the top of the Frozen North. Hardy Americans in Asia, in South America, on the Great Plains, hacked at whiskers that insisted on growing in spite of a generation of discouragement. And gazing calmly above the battle the serene face of King C. Gillette, shrewd prophet of a beardless age, dominated the facial landscape of the world.

Europe took the razor to its chin largely as a result of the World War, when beards obviously were at a discount in a narrow trench or among a tricky bit of barbed wire. Even the Russian began to give up ancestral whiskers at the urging of modern minded members of the OGPU—the hairy Bolshevik was to be made simply a cartoonist's myth. Everywhere that civilization touched, the chin harvest fell.

It was accordingly somewhat of a shock when this department learned one country had taken until now to swing into line with the modern world. That country is Rumania, otherwise as up to date a nation as you can find. Why the long delay, we never expect to learn. But whatever the reason, Rumania has now made up for past omissions. She has put beards on the skids. And she has done it efficiently, in the best progressive manner—she has put beards under government control.

This does not mean that beard raisers will be paid large sums to plough the hanging gardens under. No one will get rich by destroying, say, every third row of whiskers. But they will get poor if they insist on keeping the full crop, for every beard in Rumania now requires an official permit, which must be paid for. The announcement was made not long ago, and to see that everyone heard it,

mounted couriers were sent to every village and town, where the proclamation was read to the people. Whiskered citizens could take it as they liked—if they pulled out their beards in indignation and horror (as many are reported to have done) so much the better. The government was not primarily interested in revenue, but in bringing Rumania at last into line with a clean and modern world.

New Language

WE REPORTED HERE recently on Mr. Ford's activities as a schoolteacher at the Chicago Fair. Now his latest advertising program supplies another story.

It has been a long time since Mr. Ford has had things his own way in the marketing of cars. Before the war, the humble in purse had almost no choice. They bought a Ford, (the famous Model T) and its maker had only the pleasant task of manufacturing the product and shipping it. Anxious consumers did the rest. Then competitors appeared. They also made good and cheap cars. What is more, they advertised them, and before long Mr. Ford's easy circle from factory to buyer was cut. The Ford joke which was once the mainstay of Ford advertising no longer worked.

The Ford Motor Company found that making a serviceable car was not enough—it had to be made attractive as well, attractive before the buyer would lay down his money. Mr. Ford was not stubborn. Fords were advertised, at first modestly, then all up and down the land, until now you can look at as many pictures of pretty girls tearing along the road at eighty miles an hour as you please. You can also discover from every billboard what so-

cial prestige, business prosperity and success in romance will accrue from buying a Ford. This is, of course, perfectly legitimate. Every manufacturer who wants to sell his product does it.

But it has remained for Mr. Ford's advertising to go in for this kind of cajolery and flattery on a nationalistic scale. A recent half page cut undertook to print the simple slogan "Count the Fords that pass" in something like a score of languages. It was printed in German, Greek, Russian, Persian, Italian, all the gamut of world tongues. Most of them were unintelligible to the man in the street, but none the less impressive for that. He could see that Mr. Ford's advertising experts were educated and cosmopolitan men. So cosmopolitan, in fact, that they discovered a new language to print the motto in—a language they called "French-Canadian." The French text printed the slogan this way: "*Voilà les Fords qui passent.*" The "French-Canadian" text had it this way: "*Comptez les Fords qui passent.*"

Let us hope our cousins in the North will be pleased, at least those of them living in Quebec. Frankly, this department doubts it. They are a proud and occasionally sensitive race, especially about the French that is spoken in their province. They regard it as quite equal to continental French—some of them as even better. "*Voilà*" is of course the correct word for the phrase. "*Comptez*" is used by those who do not worry much about their speech, and proud Quebecers may be a little indignant to find their French not only called "French-Canadian," but based upon a colloquialism that no car driver would use.

Opportunities

THE DEPRESSION has spurred the search for new occupations for the young. Arriving at maturity in a cold hearted and crisis bitten world, the young people of today find existing jobs taken and firmly held by their elders, whose prospect of decent retirement at any age was wiped out long ago. The young folks also find jobs formerly reserved to them completely non-existent—no one, for example, wants a Customers' Man any more, for there are no customers. Fewer and fewer offices require office boys, for the big shots are sharpening their own pen-

cils, licking their own stamps, and wondering how long such services will be required of them. Nobody wants to take a young man and let him work his way up the business ladder; the ladder is so shaky that those already up are convinced it can't hold another ounce of weight.

Vocational counsellors the world over have been worrying about this problem—and producing remarkably little by way of solution. Even the genial Dr. Pitkin of optimistic fame is stumped—his best advice to the young being, in effect, "Go out and get it!" Get what? the rising generation asks. This department has the answer: Get a Scholarship.

Long ago, when benevolent alumni had something to be benevolent with, they founded thousands of scholarships, fellowships and endowment funds for their loved Almae Matrae. Millions of dollars have been placed in these enterprises, the interest of which is capable of supporting (or certainly helping to support) the beneficiaries. According to reliable reports, many of these funds have not been taken up—money and opportunity simply going to waste.

Here then is the situation. Thousands of young people are looking for a career. Thousands of careers, or at least partial careers, are waiting for them. Some, it is true, require certain qualifications that all people cannot fill. But surely in this vast continent there are ambitious and resourceful young people who can and will fulfill the terms, if only they are told of them. Let us detail a few.

The University of West Virginia always has an opening for the possessor of a good tenor voice. Washington and Jefferson College offers free education to a grandson of a member of the United States Naval Academy, class of '68. Worcester Polytechnic offers \$500 to a student who can prove "Yankee ingenuity." The Captain Craig Woodrow MacDonald Fellowship offers money at Virginia to any near or blood relative of the Captain, who was killed at Cold Harbor in the War Between the States. Mississippi has money for any lineal descendant of a Confederate soldier.

If you were lucky enough to be born in Winsted, Connecticut, you can be sent to Yale by the Jane A. Nesbit Scholarship Fund. Vassar College will present you (if you happen to be a young lady) with the income from \$14,000, provided you did fairly well

in New Haven, Conn., high schools. Braintree, Mass., can also boast of a fund for students from the old home town. Southern belles can enjoy \$700 a year at the same institution, goodwill gift of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Five orphan boys in de Soto County, Miss., who are willing to go to college can secure \$300 per year for doing so; later they can qualify for an extra stipend of \$150. The Phelps-Stokes Fellowship offers through the University of Virginia the sum of \$500 to those qualified to "procure lectures upon Negro topics for the university." Young people even more severely handicapped than by the loss of parents can qualify for \$500 from the Frank B. Clark Trust Fund at New Hampshire, provided their handicap consists in the loss of an arm. The humble of birth are not neglected, for the Boston newsboy passing the Harvard entrance examination with the highest marks gets a scholarship of \$325.

This is the merest outline, for there are hundreds of other such opportunities, with qualifications no harder. Here is one way to solve part of the vocational problem. We recommend it to your attention.

Invitation

THE U.S.S.R. has been invited to join the League of Nations and has accepted. But for a nation to get an invitation to the Geneva show is no simple affair. As everyone knows, Russia's entrance was decided some time ago, by the great powers that control the League. Terms of admission and the policy of the League on the question were all agreed by these powers long before the Assembly voted on them. They were decided in private conference, first among the powers themselves, then with Russia—so private that Mr. Eammon de Valera, President of the League Assembly, became suspicious and pleaded for an end to "hotel room" negotiation in the matter. It should, he felt, be done more in public, where the full Assembly of all member nations could know what was going on.

The plea of course had no effect, and if any obscure dickering was done, the Assembly and the public will never know about it. What was done in public, however, was a typically and beautifully executed example of diplomatic stage play. The play went

something like this: Some months ago, the attitude of the U.S.S.R. toward the League began to change. Officials spoke less harshly of "capitalist trickery" in international organization. They began to indicate that after all the League might not be quite so bad as they had once thought—that it might even be a force for peace. They indicated (without mentioning fear of Nazi Germany and imperialist Japan) that they might even think of joining. Great power representatives responded in kind. They showed a marked falling off in denunciations of the Soviet Union, and seemed finally to believe that Russia's whole destiny was not world destruction. In the meantime the newspapers buzzed and everybody seemed to take it for granted that Russia would become a member of the League.

But not so fast—there was a lot still to be done. Russia had to be "sounded" on the question. Then Russia in turn had to "sound" the members of the Council. All this took time, since the decent interval between soundings requires at least a fortnight. Haste could not be tolerated, though everybody who counted had made up his mind long before. One or the other of the parties concerned might take it as rudeness, and diplomats are never rude, at least not to fellow diplomats of strong and well armed nations. Altogether a sizeable number of weeks was needed for sounding.

Finally they got down to points. Agreement was reported on everything. The former Allies were ready to forgive and forget, and Russia to take her chances in the lions' den at Geneva. Ten days before the Assembly voted, foreign correspondents cabled a momentous story to their papers. M. Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, the headlines said, had received the invitation. He had sent his reply. The stage was set, and the innocent reader might assume that Russia would be in the League any day now.

But reading beyond the headlines, the diplomatic joker was found. The invitation to Litvinov was simply a "draft" invitation. His reply was a "draft reply" to the "draft" invitation. Both were to be submitted to M. René Massigli, the representative of the inviting powers. M. Massigli would devote some days to studying the two drafts (one of which he had composed himself), and would then announce if

they were satisfactory. He would be assisted in this task by a corps of Russian experts from the *Quai d'Orsay*. The two drafts would then be returned to M. Litvinov, who would study them himself. Then they would be submitted to the League Council in executive session, which would study them some more. If this study were satisfactory, a "formal" wording of the invitation would then be made out, and sent to M. Litvinov, who, as soon as he got over his surprise, would in turn make out a "formal" reply and return it to the Council. After that the Assembly would debate and vote on the two formal wordings, and Russia would be admitted—provided, of course, that the Assembly found everything in order.

Labor Wars

(Continued from page 47)

Here the strikers won, though at the cost of great economic stoppage and considerable violence. Two outbreaks, one in May and the other during July and August, were witnessed before the teamsters' demands were met by government mediators, pay raises granted, and union recognition secured. Of most significance to the men was recognition of their union's right to represent so-called "inside" workers—that is, handlers and shipping men not directly connected with the driving of trucks. Workers showed judgment in selecting Minneapolis for the strike, since that city depends very largely on trans-shipment commerce for its economic life.

Another fairly important strike settled was among the fur workers of New York City, where pay raises and hours cut—again those ordered by the NRA—were granted. New York house-painters, who had been intermittently striking for several months, won their demand of \$9 per day, in the face of rush orders for re-decorating at this season. A threatened strike of New York utility employees—the first of its kind to reach a danger point—was averted by mutual compromise. An attempted aluminum strike was settled largely on employers' terms, the industry being in a position with surplus stocks to resist a strike almost indefinitely.

A strike of utility employees—also a rare occurrence—broke out in Des Moines, Iowa, where 400 workers demanded union recognition and pay in-

creases. The city was lightless for eight hours, until Governor Clyde L. Herring forced both sides to consent to arbitration, under threat of National Guard seizure and operation of power and light plants.

The first threatened strike of newspaper writers was averted early in the month in New York City, where Newspaper Guild members won a dispute with the publishers of the *Jewish Daily Bulletin*. Demands conceded by employers included a closed shop contract, a forty hour, five day week, and no further publication of unpaid material.

Pending Disputes

HERE THE SITUATION is more difficult to gauge. At the moment the most threatening dispute is the walkout of 200,000 cotton garment workers involved in the President's order for a 10 per cent hour cut and 10 per cent wage rise. So far the industry has not followed the order, claiming economic weakness. Government has made no attempt to enforce or rescind the command, and, like many other Administration labor policies, it will most likely have to be fought out by industrial struggle.

Rumors of impending strikes include a rebirth of the automobile walkout, with the industry said to be planning wage cuts in the near future. The outcome of the textile strike will modify this and other situations. If the cotton workers win, it is unlikely that the industry will risk a test of strength in the hitherto unorganized automobile labor market. On the other hand, should the UTWA win its strike, labor's next task would be a stronger attempt at organization in the automobile field, with a possible showdown on recognition in the offing.

Union longshoremen and union truckmen working on United Fruit Company shipments united to enforce the closed shop in loading and unloading operations. The International Longshoremen's Association also demanded reduction in the week from 44 to 30 hours, and a basic wage rise of 35c per hour to \$1.20.

NRA Labor Policy

THE DECISION IN THE HOUE CASE, whereby recognition was accorded to the majority union, has disgruntled both employers with company union

(Continued on page 61)

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BOOKS

(Continued from page 53)

COMING AFTER McKinlay Kantor's "Long Remember," Stark Young's "So Red the Rose" (Scribners) makes the Civil War an important issue in contemporary fiction—it's as if, after seventy years, American writers had abruptly awakened to the social meaning of that conflict, the meaning so long hidden in the arid terminology of state's rights and other doctrines of the time. "So Red the Rose" is a very graceful novel, excellent reading even if you feel, as I do, that Mr. Young has made a little history go a long way, and has given us a really good piece of propaganda—subtle, indirect, but propaganda nevertheless. The story of the McGehees, whose Mississippi plantation was invaded, whose son was killed at Shiloh and whose whole way of life was destroyed, is built around the thesis that the South had constructed—was constructing—a civilization intellectually and emotionally more appealing than any that Americans have any hope of attaining, and certainly superior to that which replaced it. A culture as rich and alive as the one presented in this novel is certainly worth dying for, and in Mr. Young's account the young men are so brave, the whole population so willing to make sacrifices, that you are sometimes surprised, in reading the book, to remember that after all the South lost the War. It seems impossible.

But even the defeat is part of the glory—Mr. Young suggests that the aristocrats couldn't bring themselves to do the things the war demanded, and from which their thick-skinned enemies did not shrink. Hence the tormented Sherman, who enters the novel as a minor character, illustrates the dilemma of the more sensitive and humane Northerners, those who recognized the value of the culture they were so actively destroying. Mr. Young does not present Southern civilization entirely in a rosy light; he merely asks if industrialism isn't worse, and if the industrial capitalists aren't lower on the human scale, less cultured, less kind, than the old slave owners.

Two novels by young writers—Albert Halper's "The Foundry" (Viking) and Edward Dahlberg's "Those Who Perish" (John Day) are, in terms of the authors' careers, impressive advances over their previous

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works. "The Foundry," like "Union Square," presents a whole raft of individuals brought together in a somewhat mechanical fashion: they all work in the same place. The progress of twenty individuals is less a series of meaningful conflicts than a series of casual associations; the conflicts are of the sort that can be postponed. Mr. Halper is a follower of Dickens; he attaches his labels firmly to his characters on the first page, and repeats those identifying tags whenever the characters appear. The beautiful legs of the office girl, the relationship of the more genial boss and his wife, the fears of the more vicious employer, the timidity of the young workers—these are Mr. Halper's identifying marks, and he sees his people in these terms. Nevertheless, the novel has warmth and movement, and is much less sentimental than "Union Square." The writing has a curious quality of humor as the author gently mocks the very clichés he employs.

"Those Who Perish" is a more significant piece of work. Dealing with the psychological consequences of Hitler's rise on a group of American middle-class Jews, it is more ordered than Mr. Dahlberg's earlier books, and the language, always the most interesting aspect of his work, with its explosive metaphors and adjectives out of place, is firmly tied to the central purpose of the novel. The world Mr. Dahlberg presents is like that of a Walt Disney cartoon—inanimate objects are gifted with life, move, seem to have emotion—and in the minds of his terror-ridden characters, the effect of nightmare and half-madness is almost overwhelming. Regina and Joshua, settlement workers, and Malamed, an unemployed salesman, truly live in a world inhabited by demons; the very headlines of newspapers threaten them. "Those Who Perish" is a sick book, voicing as deep a disgust and hopelessness as "Journey to the End of the Night," and challenging comparison with that terrible masterpiece.

"Now in November," by Josephine Johnson (Simon and Schuster) is a durable piece of work, a first novel, quiet and unpretentious, describing a miserable and harrassed environment in gentle and even nostalgic language. Miss Johnson's prose is always smooth and often beautiful; the five characters of her story—a farmer, his wife and three daughters—are seen consistently rather than vividly, and are less real than the landscape against which they

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move. Samuel Rogers' "Dusk at the Grove" (Little Brown) the Atlantic \$10,000 prize novel, is the story of a Rhode Island family in the years from 1909 to 1931—pleasantly written, but weakened by a sort of pointlessness. You can get interested in the lives of the Warings as in the lives of your own distant relatives, this record of several summers at the shore having that quality of being an intimate family chronicle, told by the family historian. The beautiful bound edition of Galsworthy's "End of the Chapter" (Scribners) includes the trilogy that began with "Maid in Waiting" and ended with "One More River"—a fine monument of mechanical writing and of labored, uninspired and—for me at least—unreadable detail.

Lewis Corey's "The Decline of American Capitalism" (Covici-Friede) is a persuasive piece of Marxian analysis, comparable to John Strachey's "The Coming Struggle for Power" in its tone and conclusions, largely devoted to pointing out the weaknesses of the recovery measures of the Administration, and their inevitable failure. Mr. Corey's reasoning is convincing, his historical footnotes and interpolations are interesting, and he backs up his points with an impressive reserve of fresh quotations and statistics. "The Decline of American Capitalism" becomes hard reading when Mr. Corey repeats himself, and when he lets himself go in for some heavy-handed satirical comments. A book of this scope is perhaps inevitably loosely organized, but after Mr. Corey has shown, for the hundredth time, exactly why monopoly capitalism breeds war, you want to say, "I get it—don't go over that again" while he carefully repeats the brilliant arguments and the convincing proof.

"Fabulous Monster" by J. D. Chamier (Longmans Green) is a slightly Thomas Beer-ish biography of the ex-Kaiser, self-consciously colorful, though the subject himself remains colorless. As a footnote to German history, it adds confirmation to a book of a much different character: Ernest Henri's "Hitler over Europe" (Simon and Schuster), which is surely one of the most amazing pieces of political analysis written in recent years. Henri accounts for Hitler's rise more convincingly than anyone else has, principally by showing how the pressure of the great industrial plants of the Ruhr created a need for expansion and so a need for a militantly nationalist gov-

ernment and a militantly nationalist philosophy. But aside from this central point, "Hitler over Europe" offers some vivid insights into German history and into the social groupings within Germany—the passages on the War, for instance, provide a key for understanding the policies of the Kaiser, a key which is lacking in Mr. Chamier's biography.

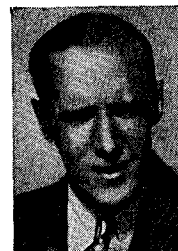
"These Hurrying Years," by Gerald Heard (Oxford) begins as a summary of events since 1900, and at first glance seems the sort of running commentary that could be of enormous value in isolating the important historical developments of this period of confusion. It quickly turns into random, liberal speculations on the future of humanity, on human progress and its problems. The author's detachment is of the sort that permits him to lay great stress on the various phases of scientific progress, and to place scarcely greater weight on the War and its appalling consequences.

Economic Reports

(Continued from page 45)

Japanese Sector

A YEAR AGO it seemed that Japanese merchants would sweep all before them in Latin America, crowding out of the markets there the goods of countries longer established in this particular field. But the Japanese infiltration of Latin American markets is not going so well now. In the first half of 1934 Japanese sales to Argentina and Uruguay declined \$400,000. Worse yet, from the Japanese standpoint, was the declaration by Minister of Agriculture Luis Duhau, made to a government commission studying the trade relations between Argentina and Japan, that his country was not interested in buying goods, even if the price was low, from a country which offered little outlet for Argentine exports. He bespoke an acute lack of interest in goods produced under "exceptionally cheap labor conditions," and he was unmoved by a suggestion that Japan would like to shift some of its wool buying from Australia to Argentina. For the moment South American trade sentiment has turned strongly against Japan, with Brazil putting a damper on Japanese immigration, Uruguay declining to permit Japanese interests to erect factories there and Chile showing little zest in entering into a trade agreement with Tokio.



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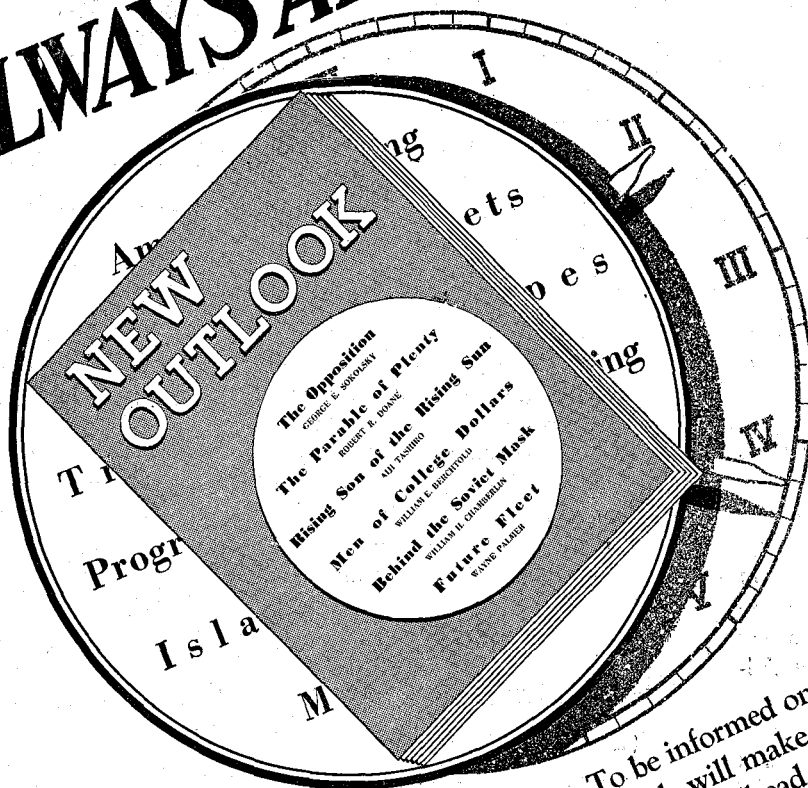
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Labor Wars

(Continued from page 56)

plans and left-wing union elements. The A. F. of L., of course, has rejoiced. The company has not yet obeyed the order. This decision, together with another ordering reinstatement of sixty-one clothing workers discharged for union activity, seems to put the New Deal on the way to a clear position on Section 7-a. Courts have aided as well, in an injunction restraining a New York candy factory from violation of a collective bargaining agreement made under 7-a.

CRANBERRY PICKERS in Massachusetts went on strike 1500 strong during the second week in September, demanding an increase in pay from 50 to 75 cents per hour and recognition of collective bargaining under Section 7a. As yet the cranberry pickers have no union of their own, and work through the Hod Carriers', Building and Construction Helpers' Union. The use of this outside union may be an effort on the cranberry pickers' part to secure recognition under NRA as non-agricultural workers; if so, it surely is a disguise which can easily be penetrated.

Near Scranton, Pennsylvania, teachers who have been on strike for several weeks for back pay defeated an attempt to re-open the schools, largely by marching around the school buildings singing and shouting so loudly that lessons were impossible. This strike, while minor compared to industrial struggles now going on, is interesting as one of the first examples of militant unionism among the professional classes.

A strike of publishing employees against the New York firm of Macaulay also demonstrates the professional or white collar class absorption of industrial examples. Several more or less noted authors have joined picket lines in the attempt to force the employers to re-instate discharged workers. Strikers claim violation of Section 7-a in these dismissals, while the firm denies it, claiming dismissals based on inefficiency and economic need.

Union Progress

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• 61

ers' unions and a decline in the employee representation or company union plan. Railway workers have been the leaders, maintenance of way men on the Erie outvoting the company union by 3 to 1, on the Chicago Junction system by 2 to 1, and with varying majorities on the Union Pacific, Norfolk and Western, Illinois Central and New Jersey Central. This activity among railway employees may imply a future strike—again if a showdown is sought on "collective bargaining by representatives of their own choice."

Section 7-a, unhappy feature of the Recovery plan, is the centre for present and coming disputes. Government has failed to clarify this much quarreled over clause. Workers interpret it as putting the angels on the side of their unions, employers on theirs. Between the two, with government hitherto unable to make up its mind, bitter strife breaks out and more will come.—C. F.

Correspondence

(Continued from page 5)

Sir:

I was very much interested in the article titled "Your Insurance: Thar She Blows" in the July issue of the NEW OUTLOOK.

I think Mr. James has a very excellent insight into the present condition of most of our Casualty companies.

Sincerely, yours,
T. C. HOWAY,
Seattle, Wash.

One Man's Poison

Sir:

I am a Kentucky farmer. I am trying to find out a little about what "relief" is costing. I am told that you made the statement that the meat distributed last spring cost 39c a pound. Is that so? I only know that some of my farmer neighbors who received it found it so salty that they fed it to their dogs and then had to eat their own meat. The relief work put on by Washington is making bums of erstwhile honest people.

Send me a sample of your magazine. Please help us get rid of these leeches.

Yours truly,
REID TRAVIS,
Gilbertsville, Ky.

"Then also, for reading after the show is over, there will be Document No. 140—73rd Congress, a report on the Emergency Hog Marketing Program. This will reveal, for those sufficiently interested to study it carefully, the fact that each pound of pork proc-

essed by the Government cost in the neighborhood of 34 cents per pound! This was the cost of processing at a time when pork was bringing only twelve to fourteen cents a pound in the retail markets, and a quantity of the government product was being used for railroad fill."—*Looking Back At the New Deal*, May, 1934, NEW OUTLOOK.

Sirs:

My reason for renewing my subscription to the OUTLOOK:

"Why We Gave Them the Banks"—Angly, and other articles by same author.

"A Farewell to Eagles"—Sokolsky.

Between Two Blades of Grass—Editorial, and other recent editorials.

The daily papers which I come in contact with seem to be thoroughly throttled and with the exception of an occasional article by one or two Columnists, they print only Administration Publicity Bureau. The newspapers are not telling us but are purposely keeping as quiet as possible what may result from this drought which has stricken this country as well as other countries for the reason it would react upon the administration for paying farmers to plow under crops, pay them for not planting and for turning pigs into fertilizer or some less useless channel. On the other hand we read "It should no longer exist because the problem of production has been fairly well solved and there is PLENTY for all." And, featured on the front pages, such news as "'Sistie' and 'Buzzie' Dall go out on the front lawn of the White House to look at a robin's nest."

As long as you publish such articles as referred to, may your subscription list increase many times.

Yours very truly,
E. HOWELL KING,
Lakewood, Ohio.

Letters from readers are welcome and will be published hereafter in this department.

Trade Routes in the Sky

(Continued from page 20)

of the principal international air routes of the Western Hemisphere and, with the coöperation of Imperial Airways, for insuring the United States a strong position on the projected air routes across the Atlantic as well as across the Pacific. Whether the United States will realize the fullest benefits from its representative's dominant position today will depend largely upon the speed with which the government, and particularly the United States Post Office Department, acts in the authorizing of the new services which are now technically feasible.

Whether the United States will ever extend its world air routes beyond a terminus on the east coast of Europe, connecting with the British, French, German and other international systems, or beyond a terminus in China, connecting with the international Asiatic services, depends upon political and economic developments of the future. If Pan American's President Trippe has ever permitted himself to dream of an American air network completely around the world, he has never indulged in the pleasure of even discussing such a thought with close associates to say nothing of speaking of it publicly. He has always maintained an open door for coöperative action with the other major international air companies abroad. Great Britain, however, has definitely laid out a plan for circling the globe with an all British air line, coöperating closely with Pan American Airways in the Western Hemisphere. That some of the European nations expect the United States to extend its international system across Europe and Asia around the world is evidenced by the fact that air officials abroad constantly ask questions as to which route Pan American is likely to take once it reaches the European coast. I was asked this question numerous times, without being able to supply the slightest thread of an answer, during an air tour of Europe three years ago.

Before international air transport systems can be built up upon the most economic basis and with the maximum of freedom in the selection of their routes, there must be a general retreat from the present intense spirit of nationalism which is strangling world civilization. The principle of "freedom of passage in time of peace" must become as world-wide in its application to air transport as it is now to marine transport. The suggestion that this freedom be achieved, with a definite assurance of military security, through the international ownership of air transport is far from a satisfactory solution. Such a plan would result in the stagnation of commercial air transport on world routes without actually achieving the salutary military security its proponents seek. The only satisfactory solution must be sought in further amendments to the Air Convention, which governs international practice, so that innocent passage is assured and States may only refuse permission to aircraft of other contracting States to fly over their territories on giving rea-

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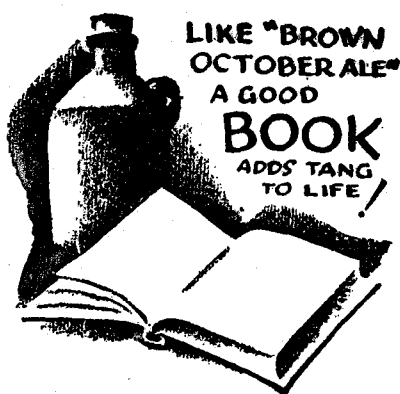
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sonable grounds for doing so. Governments will be much less inclined to refuse permission if their reasons for doing so are to be made public. The right of cabotage (the reservation of traffic between points within a State for the aircraft of that State) should logically be preserved for each nation, but through, international air routes should not be interrupted in time of peace.

To this whole subject of international air transport and the relationship of the United States to the other powers which are contesting for control of the world's major air routes, President Roosevelt's Aviation Commission, headed by Clark Howell of Atlanta, might well address itself. The United States has gained its present predominant position on 27,000 miles of international air routes through the private initiative of its representative company, Pan American Airways. Its work cannot gain its greatest effectiveness without government coöperation which will permit long-term planning through the crystallization of national air policy. The first decade since the United States Army fliers girdled the globe has witnessed the solution of what appeared to be insurmountable technical difficulties to be overcome in the establishment of world routes.

The next decade will see all the nations of the world linked by scheduled air service across the seas and over the continents, if the sovereign nations will take time out from their hour of intense nationalism to loosen the political and economic bands which are strangling world trade and world transport. Those rugged individualists who have persisted in braving the rip-tide of nationalism which runs counter to the building of world air routes have already succeeded in opening more than 200,000 miles of regularly flown lines. More than a quarter of that vast world system is under the American flag, constituting a network of lines throughout the United States, connecting at our borders with a still larger system which loops South America and anxiously stretches its tentacles toward the sea routes to connect up lines already established in Alaska and the Orient. The "some day" when men and goods will circle the world on regular schedule, visioned by the first world fliers, may easily be tomorrow if political and economic obstacles can be surmounted as the technical ones have been hurdled.

Bright, New Scheme

(Continued from page 43)

Ambassador at Paris on six different occasions proposed an alliance. Paul Boncour, then Foreign Minister, listened with complacency — some said with too much complacency. But at that moment nothing could be done because Russia was not a member of the League. So long as she did not belong to that august assembly, France could not enter into contracts forbidden by the Covenant. Furthermore France could not assist Russia against a member of the League—and Germany had then entered the League fold.

An understanding therefore was only possible when Russia did join. This was difficult. Not only three quarters of the assembly were necessary to admit her, but Russia as a great power wanted a permanent seat on the council. When President Wilson drew up his list of these League seats in 1918 he left places open for both Germany and Russia.

Since that epoch a new big power came forward. Poland, with thirty-three million inhabitants, increasing a half million annually, also thought herself qualified for a permanent seat on the council. It was very difficult for France to choose between the two—her ally of the first hour and her friend of the eleventh hour, especially since France held the disconcerting thought that Germany as a member of the League council would champion the pretensions of Poland. Inasmuch as the council is chosen unanimously it appeared difficult to augment it at once by two members. Russia remained intransigent and all means employed to calm Poland were in vain—even a call for the arbitration of the Vatican to settle the religious persecution in the U.S.S.R.

These at the beginning were the obstacles of a Franco-Russian alliance. The Bolshevik government was not content merely with the carrying-out of its doctrines at home. The Bolshevik ambassadors abroad were not only representatives of a foreign power but were occult advisors and money-lenders to a Communist group in each country, notably strong in France. An alliance with a government of this double aspect was out of the question. It was hard to consider how in a certain hypothesis, notably a revolution, Russia could rest faithful to her obligations. To many Frenchmen it seemed illogical

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and immoral to have a direct *entente* between a government that exalted and another that persecuted the bourgeoisie.

However France well understood the necessity of getting Russia into camp as quickly as possible. A change in the German regime might make a big difference in the attitude of the U.S.S.R. Tomorrow a Communist revolution in Berlin might make Moscow deaf to all invitations of the Occidental powers. The restoration of monarchy, or even a bureaucratic reaction, might restore a Bismarck policy favoring a German-Russian coalition. These are not unrealizable hypotheses. France firmly intends to seize immediately the hand that is offered today in order to avoid the risk of that hand's being offered to an adversary tomorrow.

But at the same time an alliance that could be construed as an alliance might at once create distrust. Almost certainly England would consider it created the appearance of the pre-war combine. Therefore the Doumergue cabinet preferred to substitute a *pact of assistance* open to all, frightening nobody, but tying up Russia and assuring advantages that would be equivalent to an alliance.

In working for herself France considers that she has worked largely and definitely for all Europe. Certainly the Russian-Baltic territory as well as the Balkans seemed appropriate regions wherein to choose the site of outbreak for a general European war. Germany is still busy with the idea of regaining the Polish Corridor by offering to Poland the state of Lithuania, where Memel would replace Dantzig, and the Russian territory of the Ukraine.

In bringing all the states together, all governments sincerely pacific combined with those who at the bottom of their hearts nurse secret ambitions, into rigorously guaranteeing the present frontiers, France believes that she will create in eastern Europe a great movement of public opinion in favor of general peace. She would thus destroy, for the moment, at least, all appetite for conquest. She would prepare the ease of spirit, that is, the moral disarmament which is the prelude necessary to material disarmament, since it is the sole creator of confidence. This in general is the work accomplished in London by Barthou.

Viewing it from the standpoint of all Europe a vast structure is planned, or to change the metaphor, an ingenious machine that perhaps is too com-

plicated to be practical, but following out sincerely the French thesis as laid down by Briand in 1924.

If one is to prevent the isolation of powers the pact system seems the only alternative to alliances that England so absolutely disapproves.

It cannot be denied that all the ingenious mechanism provided by Barthou well serves the French interest. But above all, it may maintain peace, and thus it serves the interest of Europe and that of the entire world.

Getting the machinery started will be laborious. British help is accorded in order directly or indirectly to advance the disarmament quite as much as to keep alive the *entente cordiale*. If disarmament is tardy British public opinion will certainly uncover in the Oriental Pact definite suspicions of unholy alliance.

The instant adhesion of Italy shows both a desire to please England and a desire to regain the Muscovite sympathies which the Hitler-Mussolini intimacy began to chill. Also it is felt in France that the hearty Italian acceptance carries the innermost thought that, under the colors of disarmament, military and naval parity with France can be obtained. This appears to the Roman Cabinet as the first condition even of political parity and is the ultimate design of the Mussolini policy.

Even if Germany resists the counsels of anger and does not commit the imprudence of a brusque refusal, nevertheless she will keep in mind every possibility to secure recognition of her actual rearmament or her future military development. This France is not in the humor to authorize.

Finally Poland, although Pilsudski insisted to Barthou during their recent interview at Warsaw that the two nations still love each other, Poland now holds to her dream of Baltic-Ukrainian expansion. Undoubtedly she will suffer much pain in disavowing the design nearest her heart.

The period of delicate negotiations now begins. It is impossible to foresee the end. All depends on possible crises that are exterior to the affair itself—the evolution of the German regime which one cannot now visualize, or the attitude of Italy, now entering into an increasing phase of economic difficulties. It was necessary for Barthou to have audacity in essaying the organization of order from the present European chaos — both courage and audacity, whether or not the final profit will be peace.